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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts – October 28, 1972, 50 cents

Guilty Men

Corruption in the Campaign

John Osborne *TRB* *The Editors*

Pentagon Futurama – *Walter Pincus*

Canvassing for George – *Paul R. Wieck*

I'm Like Ike – *Stanley Karnow*

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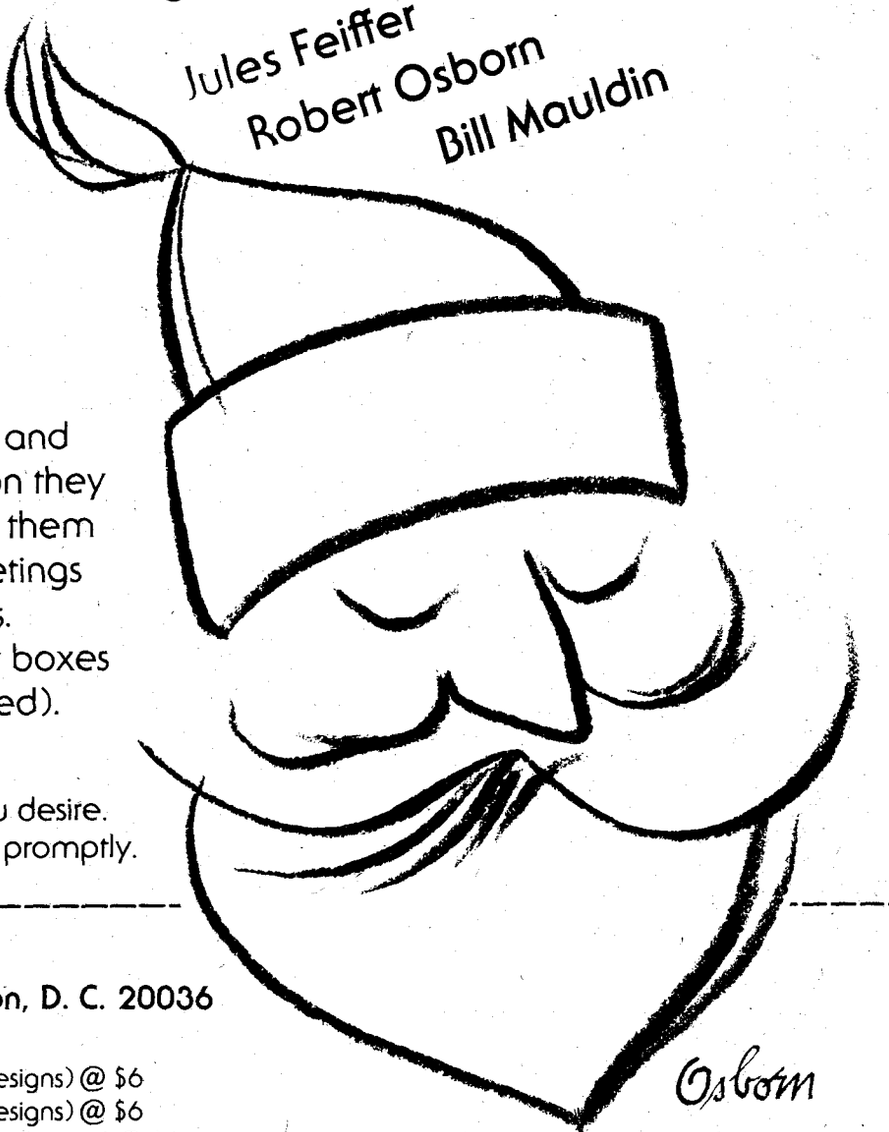

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TRB

from Washington
October 28, 1972

Who Cares?

How can we describe the mood of Washington today so that a wondering reader, 40 years hence, say, can get some feel of the bewildering atmosphere? Three themes, we think, run through the mood, constantly mingling and separating: a feeling that Mr. Nixon is rolling toward a landslide victory of possibly historic proportions; a feeling that seeps out the White House and out from its aloof and introverted occupant—a feeling of persecution despite the expected victory, directed against the press, intellectuals, "opinion leaders" and opponents generally; and finally a gathering feeling of concern as the details of the GOP Watergate sabotage-espionage affair leak out, bit by bit, with the knowledge that civil and criminal cases will come to trial right after the election, that Ted Kennedy, with subpoena powers, will be investigating right after the election and that, in general, what looks like one of the sleaziest episodes in the history of national politics will begin to be spread out for months, maybe years, right after the election.

The strange mood in Washington hasn't got out to the country yet and very likely won't (till after the election). Twenty-nine times at one briefing reporters tried to get comment on the sabotage affair from White House Press Secretary Ziegler: no luck. At another time Clark MacGregor, chairman of the reelection effort, denounced the sabotage charges and stalked from the room without answering questions. It almost passes belief that John Mitchell and Maurice Stans did not know what was going on in the GOP department of dirty tricks which they were financing, and now a web of evidence begins to associate the White House staff with the operation. It is an extraordinary prospect—a big political victory immediately ahead, straightaway tumbling into post-election exposure; a candidate likely to get a landslide facing continuing embarrassment after the campaign; a man, incidentally, who still isn't very popular. It could tarnish the luster of a second term.

Mr. Nixon must sense victory yet he vividly displayed a feeling of persecution last week when he told the wives of POWs that "opinion leaders" let him down in May when he decided to mine Vietnam harbors and increase bombing. One felt uncomfortable watching this emotional speech; it somehow recalled that time in California a decade ago, when he told the press "you won't have Nixon to kick around any more."

"It is often said," he explained, "that when a President makes a hard decision, the so-called opinion leaders of this country can be counted to stand beside him, regardless of party." He said he meant "the leaders of the media, the great editors and publishers and television commentators . . . the presidents of our universities and the professors and the rest, those who have educational background. . . ."

Well, they didn't crash through, the President complained. He was brave about it, though, and even noble; and he made a little joke at the way he was misunderstood and let down. But you had a feeling all the time that he had been brooding about it; yes, even before his great victory vindication.

What is America's mood today? Well, turn to the Monthly Investment Letter of Harris, Upham & Co., the nation's 15th largest Wall Street brokerage house, written by Lewis Stone, vice president for economics. "People as a whole," he explains to clients in the October issue, "don't care about the broad social issues, or even specific scandals such as the Watergate incident, or the campaign contributions, or the Russian wheat and soybean sales, or the undoubted corruption that is inherent in the American political system."

The people don't care, Stone says. "If we may paraphrase a relatively new saying—'corruption is as American as apple pie.'"

Stone says he is "continually amazed at the intellectual liberals' blind faith in the quality of the people's culture." Apparently he is talking about the same people whom Mr. Nixon calls "opinion leaders." The article continues: "We do not live in a highly educated society," the majority of college graduates "haven't read a book since they left Old Ivy." What do they do? Well this is the picture presented by Harris, Upham: "most of their leisure time is spent in love-making, home-making, golf, tennis, and spectator sports, poker, cocktail parties, TV, movies, hitting the bottle, and cutting the lawn. . . . It is a far cry from the socialist academic despair to the inspired hopefulness of the enlightened business community." So that's the word on Watergate: "Corruption is as American as apple pie."

We hope it isn't so. We don't think it is so. In fact we adduce optimistic evidence to the contrary from another quarter. Once every 10 years the United States takes a self-portrait, its census, and just the other day the basic tabulated findings of the 1970 enumeration came out, the major social document of America. This shows a mighty nation with many faults, of wildly unfair income distribution and of continuing injustice to blacks and minority groups but, in the sense of its continuity decade by decade and generation by generation, it offers many grounds for hope.

Take the one statistic of education. Half a century ago the average adult had only a grammar school education. A quarter of a century ago the TV networks programmed their shows at a "ninth-grade mentality." Here is how the number of school years for median adults has risen: 1940—8.6 years; 1950—9.3; 1960—10.5. And now the latest: it has risen to 12.1 years and it means that for the first time in history the average American adult is a high school graduate. There is no country in the world that has achieved anything like this. Scoff at education if you want, but we don't know of any capital investment that is superior to it in the long run; it's better than motor cars, better than skyscrapers. Maybe in time it will improve politics.

Note: Interviewed over Mutual Radio station WHN (New York), Richard Nixon (October 8, 1963) charged that the US will be "harming the cause of freedom" if it sells wheat to Soviet Russia: "why should we pull them out of their trouble and make communism look better?" he demanded. He denounced a report that President Kennedy would approve the sale of four million tons to Moscow.

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Corruption in The Campaign

We haven't heard any mighty shout in this campaign to "throw the rascals out." Are we resigned to rascality as a way of life? Along with the White House staff, do we think chicanery is not worth dignifying by indignation? Early this summer, a former Intelligence operative, a Democrat, casually suggested to a McGovern staff member that they set up an undercover anti-Nixon apparatus. The suggestion, which got nowhere, was made after E. Howard Hunt's name had surfaced in connection with the bugging of the Democratic national headquarters. As had Hunt, the proposer of anti-Nixon espionage had worked for the CIA in the days when the agency was up to its elbows in domestic power struggles in foreign countries, secretly countering Communist dirty tricks with some of its own. The CIA intriguers did not regard themselves as corrupt, but as fighting for the right. If they got the right results and didn't get caught with their hand in the till, they felt they had done their duty well.

What is unnerving about the series of domestic scandals over this past year and a half is that they so resemble the "fight-fire-with-fire" operations of the spy artists, and that the Republican campaign begins to look like "not just gutter politics," in James Reston's words, "but guerrilla war. . . ."

Start with the milk price boost of 1971. On March 12, the then secretary of agriculture, Clifford Hardin, announced that to keep down inflation, the government would not allow an increase in milk prices that year. In the following two weeks, national dairy organizations gave $35,000 to reelect Republicans in 1972, sent a delegation to meet the President and the secretary of agriculture; on March 25, Secretary Hardin reversed himself, raising prices to a level that would bring at least $140 million in additional revenue to the milk industry. In July, the milk organizations gave another $125,000 to the Republicans, parceled out in checks of $2500 to 50 dummy fund-raising committees.

A year later, in March 1972, a Senate hearing on Attorney General-designate Richard Kleindienst brought to light another coincidence. The international conglomerate ITT found itself in an awkward bind in the spring of 1971 because the Justice Department had decided—after months of threatening—to divorce ITT from the Hartford Fire Insurance Company. ITT spokesmen approached Attorney General John Mitchell, his assistant Kleindienst, antitrust prosecutor Richard

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McLaren, White House aide Peter Flanigan and other officials. Whether or not they came to any discreet agreement we do not know; we do know the Justice Department rescinded its antitrust suit, the Republican convention organizers won a promise of a loan from ITT—something between $100,000 and $600,000, depending on whom you believe. Possibly incriminating papers in the ITT Washington office were shredded. Illegal? Not proven. Suspicious? Certainly.

This autumn the Agriculture Department (USDA) stepped back into the spotlight. The grain sale to Russia, engineered by USDA, brought sudden profits to the six largest grain shippers. The farmers themselves had not been told that their crops were valuable this year; most were paid normal prices for their harvest. There's nothing remarkable in wealthy agribusinessmen getting wealthier, but the pattern of job shifting that took place *while negotiations were in progress* was remarkable. Businessmen and officials changed jobs as follows: 1) an assistant secretary of agriculture quit the government to become vice president of the grain firm that later had the largest sales to Russia; 2) he was replaced at USDA by a former executive of another grain firm involved; 3) another USDA official left to become the Washington agent for yet another of the grain firms, 4) replacing a man who had quit the firm to work at USDA five months before. The vice president of a fourth grain firm quit a month before that to work at the White House. Conflict of interest? An insulting question, according to the administration.

Then we come to the wheeler-dealering of the President's reelection committee. The friends of the President contributed $10 million to his candidacy before April 7; we'll never learn their names because the committee has stood by the letter of the law, which requires only that contributions given after April 7 be revealed. An audit last month by the General Accounting Office (GAO) caught one unhappy man—Dwayne Andreas—who missed the deadline and now will be remembered as that "close friend of Hubert Humphrey" who wanted his $25,000 gift to the Republicans to remain anonymous. The GAO also found that the reelection committee had accepted $100,000 from a Mexican bank, a gift from some wealthy Texas Democrats who sent the money through Mexico to assure anonymity.

A campaign with a $40 million budget—like the Republicans'—must be paid for; the President isn't supposed to use federal money for campaigning; that is why his public appearance in Philadelphia last week was nonpolitical. The readiest source of big money is big business. According to *The Washington Post*, about $700,000 of the Republicans' money was kept in a special cash fund controlled by the campaign manager to finance emergency spending and "security operations" within the Committee to Reelect the President. The man who headed the committee until July 1 was John Mitchell; the man on the committee's payroll in charge of security was former CIA agent James McCord. McCord and four men hired by him or his bosses were arrested last June 17, carrying spying devices and crisp $100 bills provided by the committee, just after they had broken into Democratic national headquarters. They, along with two former White House aides, were indicted last month for conspiring to steal documents and bug the phones of the Democratic National Committee. According to police, their mission was to install or remove radio transmitters that would allow them, as spies for the Republicans, to eavesdrop on conversations between Democratic campaign planners. Unauthorized?

Initially the President tried to play down the significance of the incident as a "third-rate burglar attempt." Two officials who may have known more dropped from sight. John Mitchell quit as director of the committee and moved to New York. Hugh Sloan, the committee treasurer who supposedly signed the money over to McCord and another man arrested in the break-in, quit about the same time. When asked about the case on August 29, the President said, "no one in the White House staff, no one in this administration presently employed, was involved in this very bizarre incident." Presently? Bizarre?

In the absence of an official explanation, reporters poked around and discovered that the espionage last June was not the first. According to a confession by a man named Alfred Baldwin, the men caught in Democratic headquarters had been spying on the office for at least the three weeks Baldwin worked on the job. Baldwin said that he'd been asked by McCord to monitor bugged phone conversations, and that he, Baldwin, hadn't been arrested because he was across the street at the time, listening on a walkie-talkie. Other sources said that Baldwin sent transcripts of the conversations he monitored to executives on the Committee to Reelect the President and the White House staff.

New research by *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and *Time* magazine adds plausibility to the charge that the White House was more deeply mired in this dirty business than suspected. Referring to "sources in the FBI and Justice Department" the *Post* said on October 10 that at least 50 agents had been employed by the Republicans in their "offensive security" campaign against the Democrats. Eight people have told the *Post* and *Time* magazine that a man named Donald Segretti solicited their help for Nixon in disrupting the campaigns of Democratic candidates. A former Treasury Department lawyer, Segretti is a friend of Nixon's appointment secretary, Dwight Chapin, who with Segretti graduated from the University of Southern California in 1963. According to *Time*, the President's personal lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach, supplied Segretti with $35,000 from the reelection committee's funds. Another classmate of Segretti's at USC has said under oath that Segretti claimed his ex-

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penses were paid from "a trust account in a lawyer's name . . . a high placed friend of the President," and that "Dwight Chapin was a person I reported to in Washington." A lawyer in Tennessee has said that when he was asked to join the undercover team, Segretti outlined for him a plan of attack in which they would issue false press releases to embarrass Democrats Muskie and Kennedy, sabotage rallies by inviting people at the wrong time, and generally wreak havoc with Democratic schedules in any "legal" way possible. One of the victims of this campaign—Senator Edmund Muskie—said when he learned of the *Post* stories that they "suggest a political opposition which is ruthless and unprincipled." He released a detailed list of sabotage incidents that plagued his campaign, including the forging of a letter, and asked for some response from the President.

At least seven White House or reelection committee aides, now employed, have been named in connection with the scandal; none is talking, though most have denied the accusations. Segretti can't be found. The seven men indicted for breaking into Democratic headquarters are awaiting trial, but the judge has said it won't begin until November 15, the week after the election. Representative Wright Patman (D, Tex.), chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, tried to launch an inquiry, but was voted down 20-15. The FBI has concluded its investigation of the break-in without stirring up enough evidence for more indictments. The administration considers the case closed.

If this were an Eric Ambler thriller, a fantasy about a few who burgled, bugged, sabotaged, forged, and used official position to favor business friends, we could relish it. It isn't. And it isn't the corruption of a few we need worry about; it is the apathetic response to that corruption. For that signifies the corruption of the country.

Who's To Be Served?

The authorization bill for the Office of Economic Opportunity that came before a Senate-House conference last August had in it a provision that would have helped greatly to protect Legal Services from political sniping. It was dropped during the conference after Mr. Nixon threatened to veto the entire bill because of it. Watered down in several rewritings demanded by the administration, the provision had become in its last days almost identical to one proposed by the President a year before, in May 1971. Its final demise was a tribute to White House finesse: the scheme for an independent Legal Services Corporation died quietly, leaving the President free to sign and take credit for an OEO bill he had threatened to kill.

Legal Services has been one of OEO's most successful endeavors. With a budget of about $70 million a year, it supports a research program and pays the salaries of "poverty lawyers" who represent worthy indigent cases in court—usually against landlords or fraudulent businesses that leech on the poor. Occasionally they have undertaken controversial class action suits against more respectable businesses and state agencies.

The last three years have been rough on the poverty lawyers. Nixon's first director of the OEO, Donald Rumsfeld, tried in 1970 to "regionalize" Legal Services by transferring control of policy and staffing to the more pliable regional OEO directors. He failed, but in California one year later, Governor Ronald Reagan succeeded in vetoing money for the California Rural Legal Assistance office on grounds that it was violating OEO regulations and "harassing" state agencies. Rather than override Reagan's veto, which it could have done, OEO decided to cut back funds for the local office for six months while it investigated his accusations. Eventually the CRLA was exonerated, although Reagan's action had had an effect. Funds for the federal office were approved, subject to a set of 22 "special conditions" designed to placate state officials, and Reagan was given $2.5 million by the government to develop a "judicare" plan of his own. Noting OEO's deference to Reagan, other governors took courage and vetoed legal service programs in their states.

Last winter Spiro Agnew joined the fray, meddling in a lawsuit brought by OEO lawyers in Camden, New Jersey. Agnew's pressure eventually triggered the resignation of OEO Director Fred Speaker, a Republican and former attorney general of Pennsylvania. In February 1972, Agnew devoted half of his annual speech to the governors to lambasting Legal Services. Then in the spring of 1972 OEO made its largest concession, allowing Governor Williams of Arizona to veto a legal services program in Maricopa County. OEO timorously designed the project to suit the governor, a decision that drew fire from the entire legal services community—attorneys, clients and the American Bar Association.

It was against this background that some congressmen began to work out a plan to remove the Legal Services Program from political pressures by putting it under the directorship of an independent corporation. Senator Walter Mondale (D, Minn.) introduced a bill in March 1971 that would have given the President authority to appoint five members of the corporation, the remaining 12 to be appointed by the national bar associations, client and poverty law councils and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Mr. Nixon followed two months later with a bill that would have given himself power to name the entire board.

Mondale won the first round. But by the time his bill reached Nixon's desk as part of the OEO package, Congress had revised it to meet the White House half-

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way. It allowed the President to name all 17 members of the board, but required him to choose them from lists of nominees drawn up by the Judicial Conference, the Clients Advisory Council, the Project Attorneys Council and the national bar associations. When the President vetoed the bill, he concentrated his fire on the child development section, but asked also that steps be taken to ensure that the Legal Services Corporation would be accountable to "the public"—as represented by its President.

The House would not change the makeup of the corporation directorship, but the Senate entered into a long process of compromise, accepting every administration-sponsored amendment on the floor. To everyone's surprise, several days after the Senate had passed a new OEO bill, word came from the White House that it was still unacceptable and would be vetoed. Then began the ludicrous spectacle of four compromises and four consecutive threats to veto. At last in mid-August the frustrated committee quietly deleted all reference to Legal Services from the bill. Both houses passed it when they reconvened after summer recess.

The issue had never been whether Legal Services should be kept free of all pressure by outside interests, as was argued, but rather whose interests it would serve. Legal Services is one of the few programs that transfers some power to the poor, which means it inevitably steps on some big toes. Agnew put it well in a speech last May to the Texas Bar Association: "Without some form of control at the top, you have a federal government project using public monies purportedly for public purposes but actually for whatever purpose the individual lawyer deems worthwhile. As it operates presently, it is a public project without public direction or public accountability." The call for "control at the top" from the man whose gospel is local control and revenue sharing is ironic. But to Agnew local control never meant putting poor people on advisory councils, and accountability never meant accountability to the people being served.

More on Quotas

As *The New Republic*'s lead comment of October 21 pointed out, both Senator McGovern and President Nixon reject the use of quotas, and both favor affirmative action to spur the hiring of blacks and of women in various jobs, private and public, blue-collar and white. And that, as the editorial noted, is right and gratifying. Beyond lie further issues, however, questions of circumstance and degree, of attitude and judgment, and perhaps of mental reservations.

For example: Guidelines A-I and A-II of the Democratic Party's reform commission that Senator McGovern headed require affirmative action "to encourage" representation of blacks, women and the under-30s on convention delegations "in reasonable relationship" to their presence in the population. That could mean quotas, and because it could, the commission added a footnote saying that it should not. But in practice it often did, and in the minds of numerous McGovern supporters it plainly did and does. There is a difference between actively recruiting blacks, welcoming and encouraging their participation, seeking them out for places on the delegation, on the one hand, and on the other hand deciding that there are going to be seven or 15 come hell or high water, and putting that many on regardless of who they are or whom they are displacing. And there is a difference between blacks and women and the young, a difference in the history and nature of the discrimination that they have suffered.

There is a difference also between representation in political institutions and in employment, in elective and appointive office, in positions calling for high qualifications and in more routine jobs. For another example: it is right and has been traditional that large, identifiable segments of the population and regions of the country be represented in the Cabinet and on the Supreme Court. And any President tends to favor representation of groups and regions in which he has strong support. Thus when Mr. Nixon came to office, he made no secret of his intention to secure a seat on the Supreme Court for his conservative Southern supporters. The only Southerner on the Court at the time was the late Hugo Black, who was appointed in 1937 and was no conservative. Even this presidential commitment skewed the appointment process, because it was rigidly interpreted in the Justice Department in conjunction with Mr. Nixon's then preference for an appointee with prior judicial experience. In consequence, the number of candidates considered eligible was ridiculously small, and the factor of quality was slighted.

There remains, however, a vast difference between a commitment like Mr. Nixon's to a conservative Southern appointment and Senator McGovern's declaration that he will put a woman (into the very first open seat, he said at one time), and a Greek-, an Italian-, a Polish-American on the Supreme Court, and perhaps others—memory fails. Not to speak of the Cabinet. Both institutions would, of course, end up having to be enlarged. And in both, competence is more important than representation, although if the latter is conceived flexibly, in terms of large groupings and major regions and over time, so that the quality of the pool of eligibles is hardly affected, there need be no conflict between competence and representation. It is a question of prudent judgment, not of

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set principle. But Senator McGovern, prudent politician of measured judgment though he has been in the past, has painted himself into more than one principled corner in this campaign.

"Circumstances," wrote Burke, "(which with some gentlemen pass for nothing) give in reality to every political principle its distinguishing color and discriminating effect. The circumstances are what render every civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind." So in the case of affirmative action on equal opportunity. The Nixon administration has been pressing for goals; not quotas, but goals for the hiring of blacks and women by government contractors and other recipients of federal money, including (with particular glee) universities. This policy makes one kind of sense as applied to jobs for which there is an adequate existing pool of qualified black and female candidates, and where the employer, without being overtly discriminatory, has made no effort to find them. He should now be required to cast a wider recruiting net, and giving him a goal may spur him to do so. But his obligation should be understood to be that he make a good-faith recruiting effort, not that he meet the goals.

Suppose, however, that the job is one for which the existing pool of qualified candidates is inadequate? Then the very mention of goals, even if they are understood as not being mandatory, is likely to induce hiring of unqualified or less qualified workers. The cost is a loss of efficiency—and injustice to the white or male job applicant, who, though qualified, is rejected for the sole reason that he is the wrong color or sex.

This cost ought to be deemed unacceptable. Productivity and efficiency are on the decline anyway in this country, quite seriously in some sectors of the economy. Accepting further deterioration is no help to anyone, not merely in the very long run but in a much shorter run. And in a society in which men expect to succeed by hard work and to better themselves by making themselves better, a society moreover in which for some groups prejudice has only recently been overcome so that the expectation has begun to be fully met, it is no trivial moral wrong to now proceed systematically to defeat it. In many employments artificial qualifications have been erected, or wrong ones, unduly bound to middle-class culture and insufficiently related to true efficiency, and these can properly be reexamined. But to reject an applicant to a university faculty or for a position in business or for a job as an electrician or in the civil service who has met established, realistic and unchanged qualifications in favor of a less qualified candidate is morally wrong and in the aggregate disastrous. Where the casting of a wider recruitment net produces no results, our energies ought to go into training the disadvantaged and the excluded, not into compromising and ruining, morally and practically, the society that has wronged them in the past, as it earlier wronged others, and which now recognizes their just complaint.

It is easy enough to have an affirmative recruitment program which is a sham. It is even easier to turn a recruitment program into a quota system, by whatever name it may be euphemistically called. The sham is fairly readily recognized and should be readily dealt with. The quota system may be harder to spot. Its signals are elaborate inquiry into the composition of the existing work force, emphasis on results for their own sake rather than as presumptive proof of effort, the bandying about of percentages, and the bland assumption that qualified prospects will be equally available whether one is looking for policemen, firemen, carpenters, schoolteachers, lawyers, surgeons or professors of nursing or of classics or of economics. These signals have been emitted by Mr. Nixon's Department of Health, Education, and Welfare from time to time, particularly in the direction of universities. In this campaign, they have issued mostly from Senator McGovern.

Alexander M. Bickel

Brass on the Hustings

William E. Minshall is the Republican representative from Ohio's 23rd congressional district. First elected to the House in 1954, he has been reelected ever since, and as nature and politics have gradually taken their toll of his colleagues, he has slowly climbed the steps of seniority in the powerful Committee on Appropriations. He is now the fifth-ranking member on the committee, but more important, he is the ranking minority party member on the appropriations subcommittee on the Department of Defense. He has been a staunch Pentagon backer in his opposition to cutting off funds for the Vietnam war and in his support for increasing the military's budget. He is the sort of friend the Pentagon would like to keep on Capitol Hill.

In recent years Minshall has had no easy time winning reelection. In 1968 he squeaked by with a 52-48 percent majority. He did better in 1970 but only because his opponent divorced his wife and married an 18-year-old runner-up in a local beauty contest. Even so, his margin of victory, 60-40 percent, was well below his victories of 1964 and 1966. The Republican-controlled state legislature gave Minshall some badly needed help in January of this year when it redistricted the state. By cutting away some Eastern European enclaves and replacing them with more affluent south

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Cuyahoga County suburbs, the 23rd district was made more Republican. Nonetheless, the race is still considered a tossup.

The 61-year-old Minshall's opponent is Dennis J. Kucinich, a man who was seven years old when Minshall first went to Congress. One of the nation's youngest congressional candidates, Kucinich, 25, was elected last November to the Cleveland City Council from the 7th ward of that city. This May, he defeated three opponents in the Democratic primary to win the right to oppose Minshall in November. Kucinich is campaigning on two issues: the economy and the Vietnam war. Before a number of groups, he has discussed the effects of American involvement (he made one antiwar speech at a softball league banquet), using material on civilian casualties prepared by NARMIC (National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex), a special project of the American Friends Service Committee (a Quaker group). Talking about Vietnamese who have been killed or maimed by napalm or fragmentation weapons is not a pleasant subject, but it is one Kucinich believes important if people are to understand what their congressmen have been doing with their tax dollars. His *political* thrust is clear: Minshall, the ranking Republican on the defense appropriations subcommittee, has consistently approved the money to buy the weapons which are causing the casualties.

On Sunday, August 6, Marge Townsend of Shaker Heights, Ohio, gave the NARMIC presentation at St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Lakewood. Rep. Minshall, who is a member of this church, agreed to appear the following Sunday on the condition that he be given the NARMIC material so that he could prepare a rebuttal. But instead of asking his congressional or campaign staff to prepare his talk, Minshall turned to the Pentagon and gave the NARMIC material to Rady L. Johnson, the assistant to the secretary of defense for legislative affairs. Johnson is Melvin Laird's chief political operative on Capitol Hill. Minshall gave Johnson the NARMIC text and slides (supplied by the Episcopal Diocese of Cleveland), and Johnson quickly found Pentagon employees to research and write Minshall's response. These federal employees, working on government time, produced the rebuttal and backed it up with some dramatic material: State and Defense Department cables of eyewitness accounts of North Vietnamese attacks on civilians. These telegrams were originally classified, but they were declassified and included for Minshall's use.

Rady Johnson went to Minshall's office on August 11 to hand him the material the Pentagon had prepared, an unusual courtesy. On August 13, Minshall showed up at St. Peter's Church. Right away, he established himself as a man with inside information. "I have been exposed to a lot of information that hasn't been appearing in the public press, that hasn't been on the news media at any time, some of which is still classified, and I will do my best without violating the bounds of security to tell you what I can about our situation in Vietnam. . . ."

Minshall later swung with a roundhouse right at the Quakers and others who have tried to present the public with information about Vietnamese casualties of American bombing and shelling: "I would like to point out though that . . . the prints that you were shown and the slides that you were shown last week were interspersed with a tremendous amount of propaganda. Much of this propaganda came directly from Hanoi. Just as much of the propaganda unfortunately coming from Hanoi today via Jane Fonda and Ramsey Clark. And why they allow . . . those people to go over there and to spew back the communist line to this country just appalls me, and I don't understand it one bit."

Minshall then read a State Department cable which contained the eyewitness accounts of two US marine corps majors describing attacks by North Vietnamese forces on South Vietnamese civilians. After reading it, he said, "I have three or four other telegrams describing attacks like this by the North Vietnamese against plain civilians. You didn't read anything like this in our local press. I don't know why. But I haven't seen it emphasized by any of these groups [*viz.*, the Quakers] that are going around and saying what horrible persons the Americans are."

Minshall apparently has an active imagination as well as inside information. "I think it was in 1954," he said "when they had a tremendous flood down in the delta area [of North Vietnam's Red River]; they lost millions of people, literally. It was not generally known, but I think it was something like 15 million." (The most serious floods in recent history occurred in 1945 and 1971.) One person in the audience was incredulous. "I'd like to point out," he said, "that if, in 1954, 15 million people in North Vietnam died as a result of flooding, that's nearly the entire population of North Vietnam."

Minshall was not disturbed. He stuck to his story. "Well that's a fact. If you didn't know it, that's exactly what happened."

Congressman Minshall is, of course, entitled to his opinions, and if the people of Ohio's 23rd congressional district support his pro-war views and reelect him, that is their business. On the other hand, the Department of Defense has absolutely no business intervening in that congressional race to try to help Minshall. Indeed, it is possible that federal law (the Hatch Act) was violated when Laird's assistant, Rady Johnson, had federal government workers at the Pentagon prepare material for Minshall's campaign. If the FBI does not take a close look at this case, perhaps the voters of Ohio's 23rd congressional district will.

Peter J. Ognibene

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The Nixon Watch

Guilty Men

This account of the reaction at the Nixon White House and at its adjunct, the Committee for the Reelection of the President, to reports and allegations of campaign sabotage and spying on the President's behalf is written in awareness that the sordid business probably isn't going to make enough difference to matter on November 7. The signs three weeks before the election are that the voters are inclined to give Mr. Nixon his popular majority and that most of them don't give a damn about the evidence that some extremely devious means were employed to attain it for him. The reaction reported here seems likely to amount in retrospect to nothing more than a footnote to the Nixon story, a minor testament to his talents as a reader of the public mind and conscience and to the efficacy of the protective apparatus and techniques which he and some of the men who serve him have been perfecting since he was inaugurated in 1969. But, in all its comic triviality and sinister implications, the account is worth setting down for what it tells about Mr. Nixon and about one aspect of his approach to the responsibilities and hazards of the presidency.

On October 16, the day of reaction that concerns us here, the situation that confronted the President and his spokesmen was as follows. The newspaper and magazine reports and allegations summarized on pages 5-7 of this issue asserted among other things that Dwight L. Chapin, the President's appointments secretary, had hired Donald Segretti, a California lawyer and college classmate, to spy upon and sabotage Democratic primary campaigns and that Herbert Kalmbach, a prominent California attorney and Republican activist who has handled some of Mr. Nixon's private affairs, had passed to Segretti more than $35,000 in money, $25,000 of it in one cash payment, that had come originally from the Nixon reelection committee. *The Washington Post*, *Time* and *The New York Times* attributed these and related reports to "federal investigators," "information in the Justice Department's files," and a Los Angeles friend of Segretti's named Lawrence Young. There was much more to the reports, amounting in sum to a showing that the electronic bugging of the Democratic national headquarters in Washington last summer was merely the first discovered indication of a massive Republican effort, dating back to mid-1971 and directed from the White House, to disrupt the campaigns of rivals for the Democratic nomination for the presidency and, once a nominee had been chosen, to confuse and weaken his election effort. So far, there had been no hard evidence that the President himself was involved in or even knew about the manifold skullduggeries. The newly reported involvement of Chapin and Kalmbach and particularly of Chapin, one of the President's closest personal assistants, brought the business to the very door of the Oval Office. Through the White House press staff, Chapin acknowledged only that he had "known Donald Segretti since college days" and said that *The Washington Post*'s story which first connected him with Segretti's campaign work was "based on hearsay" and was "fundamentally inaccurate." The statement was far short of a convincing denial; it was given orally and only to the *Post*; and after making it Chapin took cover. He said, "I don't propose to have any further comment," and he didn't. Further comment was left to the President's press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, at his regular White House briefing on the 16th. The following excerpts from the official transcript of his duel with the press are condensed but convey the flavor and context.

"*Q:* Did Dwight Chapin hire Segretti to do political sabotage?

"*A:* Mr. Chapin has made a comment on that and I don't have anything to add to it.

"*Q:* Is the President concerned about the report?

"*A:* The President is concerned about the techniques being applied by the opposition in the stories themselves. I would say his concern goes to the fact that stories are being run that are based on hearsay, innuendo, guilt by association.

"*Q:* Who is the opposition?

"*A:* Well, I think the opposition is clear. You know, since the Watergate (Democratic bugging) case broke, people have been trying to link the case with the White House . . . and no link has been established . . . because no link exists. Since that time the opposition has been making charges which are not substantiated, stories have been written which are not substantiated, stories have been written that are based upon hearsay and on sources that will not reveal themselves and all of this is being intermingled into an allegation that this administration, as the opposition points out, is corrupt . . . That is what I am referring to and I am not going to comment on that type of story.

"*Q:* Why won't you deny the charges?

"*A:* I am not going to dignify these types of stories with a comment . . . It goes without saying that this administration does not condone sabotage or espionage or surveillance of individuals, but it also does not condone innuendo or source stories that make broad sweeping charges about the character of individuals.

"*Q:* Are you saying that reporters should not seek out and use information obtained from such sources as Justice Department officials willing to discuss Justice Department reports and should accept and use only information provided by official spokesmen such as yourself?

"*A:* Absolutely not. The press has a right, every right, to probe for information, but I have a right to my opinion of how that information is used.

"*Q:* Would Dwight Chapin still be working here for

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the President if the President had any reason whatsoever to believe that he had hired Segretti for the purposes reported in these stories?

"*A:* I will simply answer your question by saying the President has confidence in Mr. Chapin."

The second reaction that day came from Clark MacGregor, the reelection committee's director, at the committee offices just up and across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House. His reaction was to denounce *The Washington Post* for "hypocrisy" and to suggest that its relentless probing of Republican campaign tactics was done in the service of "the political elitist movement known as McGovernism." MacGregor, a former congressman and Nixon assistant who values the esteem of Washington reporters and was clearly embarrassed by the day's assignment, refused to take questions and staged his performance for television cameras. It was a weird performance, transparently omitting any meaningful denial of the reports he professed to be answering and substituting for denial a crude attack upon the credibility of one of the reporting newspapers. Ziegler was asked the next day whether MacGregor was in touch with the President before the performance was staged. In a rare and astonishing lapse from the protective process that usually shields Richard Nixon, the press secretary answered, "I would think so." Still later, Ziegler said that nobody on the White House staff had "directed" campaign sabotage, spying and espionage. Was he thereby denying that Dwight Chapin had hired and received reports from a campaign saboteur and spy? Ziegler wouldn't say yes or no.

The President had nothing to say, during the days of reaction dealt with here, in direct response to the reports of what his guilty men had been up to. But he did say two things that bear upon the subject. He spoke of the duty of "opinion leaders . . . the great editors and publishers and commentators and the rest" to "understand the importance of great decisions and the necessity to stand by the President of the United States when he makes a terribly difficult, unpopular decision." He was talking about his decision last May to bomb and mine North Vietnam, and the press criticism he got for it. But the remark could fairly be read as a reflection of a feeling that the press really doesn't have any business associating a President, however indirectly, with such dirty stuff as campaign spying and sabotage. This President, after all, was the one who had just said in a paid campaign broadcast: "I will work unceasingly to halt the erosion of moral fiber in American life, and the denial of individual accountability for individual actions." The shady fringe of his own campaign could be a good place to do that work.

John Osborne

The Pentagon and Its Suppliers

Tooling Up for the Future

by Walter Pincus

To the military-industrial complex, Vietnam has been our Spanish Civil War, a laboratory for testing new weapons and new concepts with which to fight—or deter—future wars. That's what I learned from two days of watching "the complex" at work, at a conference this month of the American Ordnance Association (AOA) at Eglin Air Force Base in Florida.

Founded at the end of World War I with the aim of making "preparedness America's strongest guaranty of peace" by "coordinating science-industry-military efforts in new armament development," AOA has some 40,000 members, primarily executives of defense firms large and small, active and retired military men, plus civilian employees of the Defense Department. AOA annually holds a "defense preparedness meeting" in conjunction with one of the military services. Entitled "Air Armament of the Future," this year's presentations were made by the major air force commands and designed to offer a broad (unclassified) outline of where the air force is going in the 1980s and what it would be interested in buying. Thanks to some nervousness within industry about the future of defense budgets and procurement, over 550 participants turned up—almost 150 more than had earlier been expected.

John R. Allison, president of AOA, former air force

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major general and now a Washington-based vice president of Northrop Corporation, the California aircraft manufacturer, set the theme: "These are days of frugal budgets . . . It may be difficult to be firstest with the mostest, so we must be firstest with the bestest." The theme was echoed by Gen. George S. Brown in his keynote address (General Brown runs Air Force Systems Command, the outfit that pays for development of new weapons): 1972 is "one of the most difficult years for promoting preparedness," what with those who think our domestic problems "could be solved by cutting into the defense budget. . . . It will be an uphill battle to see our security needs are fulfilled." The general recalled how, after World War II, "we neglected non-nuclear arms development," so that in Korea, and later Vietnam, we had to improvise with old-fashioned armaments. Luckily Vietnam led to development of guided bombs which have "made history." But in both these wars, there were "constraints" on the military leading to "frustrations and difficulties." It has been hard for the professional soldier to "believe this is the way it would be." He mused over the irony that the military is "damned for not winning quickly" and at the same time prevented from "doing what it takes to win." Since "nuclear weapons are all but useless, except to prevent their own use," what is to be done? The manufacturers must create new, non-nuclear weapons "so effective, so efficient" that they would "deter war at the lowest levels," even down to guerrilla conflict.

What sort of new weapons? Possibly a new "fuel air explosive." As described by General Brown, this is a gas cloud that later is ignited; "unlike fragmentary bombs," it is "not degraded by forest canopies" and works well on foxholes. Then there are long- and short-range air-to-air missiles using radar or infrared guidance systems; also, bombs that can be delivered far away from targets so our planes can stay out of the range of SAM missiles.

Next up was the chief air force man on future concepts, Major General Leslie W. Bray, Jr., whose official Pentagon title is director of doctrine, concepts and objectives. Who would have suggested 10 years ago, he asked, "that one-half our strategic B-52s would be in Vietnam on tactical missions?"—or that after a long fight to get support for its ABM system, the army would suddenly find its main future weapon system frozen by an arms agreement. "And who foresaw 20 years of strong support for defense budgets would erode in six years," or foresaw the turnabout between the US and China, or the Korea conferences, or the SALT agreements? The "emergence of the multi-polar world" will require not less defense, General Bray said, but rather a flexible defense that has need for "a great deal more information on what is going on (in a foreign country) before reacting," and an ability "to react in more ways." For instance, "air and navy elements should be prepared to assist ground forces of our allies," as part of the Nixon Doctrine.

Gen. Bray confirmed what many defense critics have long said. Our weapons have become so complex, so gold-plated, they are almost too costly to use: "We want to interest our supplier in designing less sophisticated, less costly items . . . particularly ones that demand fewer people to maintain." One money-saver under air force study is a reversal of the old doctrine that all planes should "be ready to go right away." Some aircraft in a wing might be ready, but others might be in "flyable storage."

Brig. Gen. Walter P. Paluch of the Tactical Air Command, whose F-4 fighter-bombers carry on a good part of the bombing in Vietnam, then told the assembled suppliers that "experiences gained from Southeast Asia" will permit "a quantum jump" in developing future capabilities; for instance, it took 200 sorties to drop one particular bridge in North Vietnam in 1967; this year, when bombing resumed, the same structure was collapsed by two F-4s armed with laser guided weapons. "The required operational capability, ROC, we call it, is for armament capable to strike [within] a few feet of a designated impact point." Even more sophisticated laser or TV guidance is needed, so that bombs can be launched far from the target, change direction in mid-course and operate at night or in adverse weather. "More precise" close air support weapons are also needed, to avoid "friendly casualties."

Since our new fighter aircraft are designed to fly mach 2.5 and above (two-and-one-half times the speed of sound), we have not only "long-range visibility problems" with our weapons, Gen. Paluch noted, but we must find a way to "extend the physiology of our air crews." The planes go so fast a human has trouble flying and fighting in them and weapons don't work. One solution is to shift toward "remotely piloted vehicles."

We then heard from balding, tough-talking General Paul N. Bacalis of the Strategic Air Command, who was sorry to inform us that "too many of our fellow citizens don't understand the communists still pose a threat." To meet that threat, we have of course our "triad"—Polaris subs, Minuteman missiles and B-52 bombers, the latter two controlled by SAC. The B-52 will carry on into the 1980s, thanks to a new air-to-ground nuclear missile called SRAM which will permit the bomber to stay out of range of defending SAM sites. A film showing a SRAM launch from a B-52 drew whistles of amazement as the missile, on control direction from the plane, turned in a 180-degree arc and dove to attack a target located far to the rear of the bomber. The B-52 is also being given electronic and infrared sensors that project a TV-like picture for the pilot of "the real world in all light and weather," enabling the bomber to fly in "zero capability for takeoff and landing."

A brief pitch for the B-1 was followed by details on

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improvements to the Minuteman force: all silos hardened, more MIRV warheads and a change in the targeting system to permit greater flexibility.

The Aerospace Defense Command spokesman was Maj. Gen. Joseph H. Belser. This is the old air defense command that was solely interested in bombers and maybe missiles attacking us from the atmosphere. The name change was deliberate, for the air force has begun to look into design of weapons to defend US space satellites—weapons capable of attacking our enemies by non-nuclear means. "There is no specific doctrine for space defense," the general observed, for though we are committed by treaty to reserving space for peaceful activities, those include "military activities which keep the peace." To protect satellites that perform intelligence and communications functions for the military and someday may handle command and control, we are undertaking "conceptual and analytical" programs in areas of non-nuclear space weapons responsive to command. If developed, they "must deter enemies" by providing "technical options against potential space threats." If this sounds like doubletalk, it did not to the businessmen. The message was: new weapons in a new environment—space. That was the type of opening some companies were looking for.

The afternoon session began with a discussion of "digital avionics"—a central computer complex on aircraft to run the various offensive and defensive weapons systems as well as the traditional radio and navigation elements—and then Col. Gerald K. Hendricks, commander of the air force Armament Laboratory, introduced us to the modular weapons concept, "a whole new way of doing business" in the bomb procurement field. "Obviously we can't buy a weapon for each new performance capability," he said, so the Defense Department has decided to develop one "controlled family of air service weapons" for all branches, with the air force taking the lead. He pointed out that 13 different guided bombs are now being used by the separate services and 12 more are in the development stage. Modular weapons with interchangeable parts may be the only way "to meet the present proliferation."

A changeover to modular bombs will be slow in coming, however, and Hendricks' explanation gives an insight into the complexities of procurement. First, how do you dispose of the present weapons inventory—hundreds of millions in bombs, missiles and rockets at home and around the world, not to mention weapons already in production? Then there are the present inventory aircraft, designed to carry the current-design bombs. The changeover will be slow and not helped by the fact that the new modular weapons thus must satisfy all three services.

Praise for guided bombs gave way to criticism of the failure of air-to-air missiles when Lt. Col. Ralph L. Kuster spoke. Kuster had 100 missions over North Vietnam, wore rows of ribbons, had shot down a MIG, been shot down himself and picked up in Laos by a rescue helicopter. Ticking off the air-to-air missiles in the air force inventory, he said none seemed to help the pilot. One couldn't be used at high altitude; another couldn't be turned on, then turned off; another didn't fire fast enough for the high speeds of the aircraft, and none could identify friend from foe at long range. (It turns out neutral aircraft, mostly commercial, fly in the Vietnam war zone and refuse to carry the US identification friend or foe radar used in World War II.) As a result, "the air force [pilots] let air-to-air missiles hang on a plane until they rusted off," and the navy "let them roll off the deck" into the water.

Kuster made a strong plea for a missile that would help a fighter pilot under conditions he found in Vietnam. "I look for a low-cost, high-production, air-to-air missile that would operate from outside gun range (that means the machine gun and cannon) to two miles for under $10,000 per round." The price figure drew an uncomfortable stir from the audience. Current air-to-air missiles—the ones that apparently don't work—may cost up to $100,000 per round.

The second day of the conference brought a one-hour film report on recent armament tests. We saw bombs designed to attack North Vietnamese trucks carrying fuel and rice down the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Said the narrator, "the only way to kill [trucks] and prove it was to burn them." Dozens of trucks "loaded just as the North Vietnamese do with oil drums under the rice" were shown parked on a broad asphalt strip. Planes dropped a thermite bomb originally developed for use against Japan! "The thermite hits, then throws very hot particles which are designed to start fires." Two trucks were left burning. "We used up all the army's surplus 2½ ton trucks on these tests." But then a plane dropped a newer bomb made of "asphaltic goo ignited by white phosphorus." It was spectacular—red hot balls shooting all over, trailing behind hundreds of white phosphorus tails. "The result is particularly psychological, drivers catching this stuff want to get the hell out of there. It also makes pilots think they have done a lot—so *they* like it." We saw various fragment bombs being dropped, and some of the newer cluster bombs. The narrator drew his biggest laugh after a string of bombs cut through a forest destroying more trees than trucks. "If there are any environmental nuts in the room we go back and plant these trees."

All this, however, was prologue to a special segment of the film on the new "fuel air explosive." We watched a small aerosol dispersion of gas burst a plastic bag after it was ignited. Then a larger amount was put in a container and projected at a blockhouse. "We think of this not as a weapon," the narrator explained, "but as a kill mechanism." The targets of the "fuel air explosive" are persons in trucks, foxholes and bunkers

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hidden beneath heavy tree canopies and therefore not reachable, efficiently, with current anti-personnel weapons. We saw two bombs dropped from the back of a C-130 over an Eglin test range forest: "It does interesting things to mechanical parts and people. The blast builds up pressures . . . (the bombs vanished into the trees) . . . We tested it on sheep placed in foxholes and found their innards burst." Suddenly, with the ignition of the dispersed gaseous fuel, shock waves burst outward from the bomb impact point shaking trees the way a big rock dropped in a pool ripples the water. "Even with a dud, you do a lot of damage with fire."

There was the future non-nuclear weapon, a nuclear blast effect without radiation. You're bound to hear more about fuel air explosive, pronounced Fayah.

How High the Tide?

Canvassing for George

by Paul R. Wieck

Boston, Mass.

G. Michael Grant came out from under the hood of his car to greet a McGovern canvasser with these words: "I personally could vote for the devil before Nixon. All Nixon's done is cost me a job." Grant is a heavy equipment mechanic who's been out of work for four months. He has a wife and three small children, is a registered independent who's widely read and admires only one President in his lifetime—Harry Truman. He's also an unhappy voter because, much as he dislikes Nixon, he's "a little shaky" on McGovern. It's a typical attitude along this street of old clapboard houses. It's a mixed neighborhood ethnically, a middle-income, heavily Democratic enclave (Humphrey pulled 75.8 percent in 1968, McGovern 66.4 percent in the primary with a strong boost from five student precincts around Boston College). Spend a weekend with canvassers listening to the complaints about both candidates, and you will conclude that this election is going by default, whichever way it goes.

Grant's neighbors are illustrative. One woman complained about "graft and waste" in biting terms, said "what gets me is they never think wasting money is a sinful act." She's still "weighing the pros and cons," but she warmed up when the canvasser talked about health care (her mother had a lengthy final illness) and wanted more information which the canvasser later sent her by mail. Another woman described herself as "neutral" (she said "most people are") but told the canvasser she'd heard McGovern speak at a downtown rally and "was very surprised" to find "he comes over terrifically" in contrast to his TV appearances. The first dozen or so voters canvassed split about evenly between McGovern votes and "undecided" with only one—the only registered Republican—saying she was "not a bit interested" in hearing about the Democratic candidate.

Massachusetts is not only an antiwar, liberal state but it is here, in Boston, that the Democratic tide has risen in the last three elections to sweep all before it and spill over the Appalachians hundreds of miles to the West. Today, the tide is rising for McGovern in Massachusetts but not dramatically. Three weeks before the election, a *Boston Globe* poll had Nixon leading 48 to 44 with eight percent undecided.

McGovern has one distinct advantage here: he's a Democrat. Going around South Boston, the tightly knit Irish Catholic community where Humphrey won wards by percentages like 78.1 and 79.9, canvassers hear over and over: "I'm a Democrat." Door-to-door samplings, questionable because of the inexperience of many canvassers and the reluctance of many to tell young people something they don't want to hear, still show a drop of McGovern support down into the mid-60s. There's a strong residue of support for Nixon on Vietnam, canvassers get hit with hostilities on amnesty, homosexuality, fear of a change. Nevertheless, working-class, Irish South Boston is Democratic with a passion you don't find anywhere else these days. In East Boston, an Italian neighborhood where Humphrey won 78.8 percent four years ago, Democratic loyalties are crumbling. A woman who runs a corner grocery in the heart of East Boston says, "the middle-aged people are for Nixon because they think he's more stable. The younger set is for McGovern." She described the mood in the neighborhood by relating an argument between two customers, one shouting

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"if Nixon gets it, it's too bad for this country," the other shouting the opposite. "They never used to argue with one another in here," she said with a shrug. "Couldn't the Democrats put up anything better than McGovern?"

Later that day, the reports of five canvassers in East Boston showed just over 51 percent of the voters they contacted indicating a preference for McGovern; over 28 percent, however, were put down as "undecided."

If Nixon is damaged by a residual dislike of him that persists in Kennedy country, McGovern suffers just as much from the image of him as a man who "changes his mind." It causes them to question his capacity to govern; indeed, his credibility. Nothing "enrages" McGovern more, to use his own word, than this challenge. In a Chicago interview in early October, he recited his litany of explanations and insisted he has "not lied to the American people. I've stuck to my principles on the major issue." McGovern is a gentle, decent man but also fiercely proud and ambitious, and that has led him to a rhetorical extravagance which has further confused and alienated voters.

One canvasser in South Boston told of the son of a union organizer who said he plans to vote Republican for the first time; he doesn't like "the intemperate language of McGovern." He mentioned McGovern's use of the term "Tricky Dick"; so did others. The comments of a woman in the Brighton-Alston area who says she and her family are voting for McGovern because of the war summed up a sentiment often voiced: "It's kind of a dirty campaign, if you ask me. *On both sides.*" The large and highly partisan crowds McGovern is drawing (up to 100,000 in Boston, depending upon whose estimates you use) love his slashing attacks. But it's the sort of hyperbole most people had come to expect from the Old Nixon, or the not-so-old Agnew. What with the Watergate bugging and break-in, the grain scandal, the ITT affair, the $10 million in unreported campaign funds, corruption no doubt is an issue. But is it accurate to call this the "most morally corrupt" administration we've ever known?

Whatever the answer, corruption doesn't seem to be taking hold as an issue. During two days of walking through three areas of Boston, none of the corruption charges was brought up by a voter. To the canvassers, this is distressing. One young lady in the McGovern office in Boston complained bitterly that in Western Europe any one of the disclosures would be enough to bring down a government, unless it could be completely explained. The grain deal *has* cut deep in the farm belt where suspicions of the "grain trust" have lingered in the minds of farmers for decades; but it depends upon the state. To understand its impact, you have to consider the nature of the wheat harvest, which moves from Texas up the Great Plains from the Missouri to the Rockies, into Canada. At the time the Russian wheat deal was announced and the price of wheat soared, the harvest had reached a line about midway through Kansas and Missouri. Below that, farmers had harvested and sold their wheat cheap; above that, they got the higher prices. The deal may smell, but a lot of farmers' bank accounts are fatter. It's not an issue which can be used at all in a state as far north as North Dakota, according to Sen. Quentin Burdick (D). There, farmers got the higher prices.

In their frustration, McGovern and his aides are turning on the press. The weekend McGovern stumped from Chicago to Des Moines to St. Louis, there was open criticism of the White House journalists because "they didn't lay a glove on Nixon" at his press conference. In Chicago, McGovern said, "It's my own view that if seven of my top aides had been caught burglarizing the Republican headquarters, I would have been forced out of this race." A few hours later, he complained about the "enormous obsession of the press over whether Larry O'Brien likes Gary Hart or Gary Hart likes Frank Mankiewicz."

One has to sympathize with McGovern. He's the nominee of a great party and he finds himself paired with a flood of "surrogates," to use the term the GOP favors. He hasn't been able to "smoke out" the man he's running against: "What I object to more than ever is that, while the President won't campaign, every lackey he sends out gets equal attention. I'm not running against Agnew or the head of some agency. They're not entitled to the coverage I get." But they're getting it. Later in the day, he rephrased it to say "I get the feeling I'm running against a whole array of lackeys." G. Michael Grant of Boston agrees: "I personally think Nixon thinks he's too big to talk to me."

Again and again one encounters a deep reluctance to discuss at any length, feelings about the candidates. A look of sharp irritation crossed the face of a thirtyish woman in East Boston, a registered Democrat, as she said: "I'm not too happy about voting Republican but I would be more unhappy about voting Democratic this year." She didn't want to talk issues. Another, impatient to close the door, said: "I'm not in Nixon's camp, I'll tell you that. But I'm still unclear. There are some things I have to sort out in my own mind." A few doors away, a thirtyish man said: "I don't like either of them. I just don't like Nixon, period. I guess I lean toward McGovern but I'm bothered by some of the things he's said and then turned around and contradicted them."

And yet McGovern, buoyed by the crowds, detects "a great tide" that will make fools out of the "pollsters and pundits." McGovernites are now talking of taking Massachusetts by 55 to 60 percent. Good reports come from California. There's hope for states like Wisconsin. But Rhode Island, which gave Humphrey 64 percent in 1968 is still a trouble spot. Connecticut is described as "not good," although organized labor has apparently decided to make a hard push in the last

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three weeks. McGovern people are optimistic about Maine, a big Humphrey-Muskie state. But the prognosis for New England, a Democratic bastion in the last three elections, is not very good.

How can it be turned around? There's reluctance among many traditionally Democratic voters to vote for Nixon, and a lot of Democrats are returning to the fold in mid- and late-October. The polls show this. If people are voting "agin" this year, and there's a lot of evidence that's what millions of them will be doing, it would help if McGovern could goad Nixon into some bare knuckles fighting. One or two displays would reactivate a lot of latent hostility toward Nixon. But Nixon is not willin', and time is running out. A man I talked to on an East Boston street corner put it this way: "The man that's in there is going to walk back in. We were talking about it at the club last night. I haven't made up my mind yet and many people haven't, but what's the use of wasting a vote on a man who isn't going to win. We might as well give Nixon a vote."

Eisenhower Runs Again

I'm Like Ike

by Stanley Karnow

A curious phenomenon on the cloudy political scene these days is the nostalgia for Dwight D. Eisenhower. One of the leading Eisenhower fans at the moment, oddly enough, is George McGovern. "President Eisenhower was the biggest single influence on me in the defense field," he told George Wilson of *The Washington Post* not long ago, explaining that Ike like himself favored a curb on military spending, a halt to the arms race and the reduction of the US troop commitment in Europe. In support of his own controversial proposal to slash the defense budget to $54.8 billion per year, McGovern has been quoting Eisenhower's observation that "every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed."

A similar theme is being echoed by the revisionist historians, who now hail Eisenhower as the man who stopped the Korean War, vetoed recommendations by the brass to help the French in Indochina, befriended Khrushchev and alerted the country to the danger of domination by the "military-industrial complex" and the "scientific-technological elite." In his latest book, *Roots of War*, the radical scholar Richard J. Barnet praises Ike for having criticized the power of the state to choose foreign friends and foes for its citizens. Barnet substantiates this contention by citing Eisenhower's remark that "people want peace so much that some day governments had better get out of the way and let them have it."

This rehabilitation of Eisenhower may come as a surprise to middle-aged folk who remember that he encircled the Soviet Union and China with a network of air bases, sponsored geographical pacts designed to "contain" communism, urged the "liberation" of Eastern Europe, endorsed the strategy of nuclear "massive retaliation," overthrew an elected government in Guatemala and reinforced the US involvement in Vietnam that had begun under Truman and would escalate with later Presidents. But the revisionists absolve Ike by asserting that he was a captive of John Foster Dulles, just as Good King Ahasuerus fell prey to the wicked vizier Haman. Or as Barnet puts it: "The history of the Eisenhower years is the story of the tension between a President with a deep distrust in war as an effective instrument of policy and a Secretary of State who believed that military bluff was the most important element of policy."

As might be expected, the Republicans are also resurrecting old Eisenhower statements in an effort to prove that his legacy rightfully belongs to *them*. In a rare demonstration of filial piety, Eisenhower's son John recently published an article speculating with rather profane flippancy that "the Boss must be rotating in his grave" at claims by McGovern and others to his mantle. The article depicted Ike as a tough yet flexible soldier who had the guts to send American soldiers into Lebanon in the summer of 1958

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and, despite his musings, deployed nearly 400,000 US troops in Europe through the end of his term in office. Stressing that Eisenhower persistently fought for a big arms budget, John went on to quote his father as having insisted that the country required "an overpowering military establishment as the only feasible defense against the menace and probings of international Communism." Betraying its apparent White House authorship, the article further emphasized that Ike's "line of thinking has been followed faithfully by the Nixon Administration."

Searching for the authentic Eisenhower is like cutting smoke. Even delving back among Ike's own public papers or tapping the memories of his former aides reveals no solid clue to his convictions. He emerges, instead, as a man so vague and enigmatic that he can be conveniently cited today to legitimize any shade in the political spectrum. So while it is true that he advocated scaling down US forces in Europe to one division, it is equally true that he never removed any American troops from the Continent. It may be accurate, as Emmet John Hughes has written, that he chafed at the belligerent brinkmanship of Dulles. Yet he retained Dulles as secretary of state for more than six years and he described their association as one that grew in "intimacy and breadth." He can be quoted as conceding that the Communists could win a free election hands-down in Vietnam, and he can be quoted as warning that the US presence there was necessary to prevent the dominoes of Southeast Asia from toppling. He cautioned against becoming the world's policeman, but his web of bases made the globe an American precinct.

There is ample evidence to bolster the radical thesis that Eisenhower was alarmed by the enormous weight of the Pentagon and its cohorts in the business community. In his farewell address televised on January 17, 1961, for example, he exhorted Americans to "guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence . . . by the military-industrial complex." And at a news conference next day, he inveighed against the "insidious penetration of our own minds that the only thing this country is engaged in is weaponry and missiles." Much earlier in his administration, as Hughes reported, he voiced the same kind of indignation about defense spending: "We are in an armaments race. Where will it lead us? At worst, to atomic warfare. At best, to robbing every people and nation on earth of the fruits of their own toil . . . ."

But if Ike's concern about the power of the generals and the huge corporations was sincere, so was his belief that the United States had to be invincible. He deplored large defense expenditures, and he built General Curtis LeMay's Strategic Air Command into a formidable military machine and constructed a colossal arsenal of nuclear weapons. His rationale was the need for a second-strike capability. As he explained it in words that contrast sharply from those he used with Hughes:

> I had long been convinced that the composition and structure of our military establishment should be based on the assumption that the United States on its own initiative would never start a major war. This meant that the nation had to maintain forces of greater strength and effectiveness than would be necessary if our purposes had been aggressive.

Consonant with their renovation of his image, the radicals now also credit Eisenhower with having avoided war in the spring of 1954, when Dulles and Admiral Radford were urging him to send US aircraft to Indochina to relieve the French under siege at Dienbienphu. Nixon, then Vice President, was even calling for the intervention of American combat troops. Here again, however, there is a flaw in the legend that Eisenhower grounded the hawks. On the contrary, as Earl Ravenal points out in a careful reconstruction of the episode, the United States "came much closer to involvement in the First Indochina War than we care to realize." Indeed, the country was only a "matter of hours" and "within a few verbalisms" of intervening. The crucial deterrent was not Ike's pacifism. It was, according to Ravenal, Britain's refusal to join in the venture. For one thing, Ike estimated that the Chinese Communists might counterattack as they did in the Korean War, and he was reluctant to risk a major confrontation with Peking and perhaps Moscow without the kind of allied support the US had in Korea. He also felt that going into Indochina without the cooperation of the British would, as he later wrote, "inevitably tend to weaken our normally close and highly valued relationship" with them.

Throughout the 1954 crisis, though, Eisenhower showed few signs of dovishness. He evoked the "domino theory," borrowing the phrase from Radford, and he wrote to Churchill to remind him that failure "to halt Hirohito, Mussolini and Hitler by not acting in unity and in time . . . marked the beginning of many years of stark tragedy and desperate peril." His lack of success in mobilizing the British taught Ike a lesson. Soon afterward, he created the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in order to establish what he termed "a moral, legal and practical basis for helping our friends of the region"—and which would later provide the juridical foundation for the US engagement in Vietnam. But with all this, as almost everyone now agrees, he averted a broader conflict at the time.

The quest for the real Eisenhower, then, may be futile. He was so anxious to reconcile rival attitudes and reach a consensus that his fingerprints are everywhere. But they are blurred. It could be that there are several Eisenhowers. If so, they are all running for election next month.

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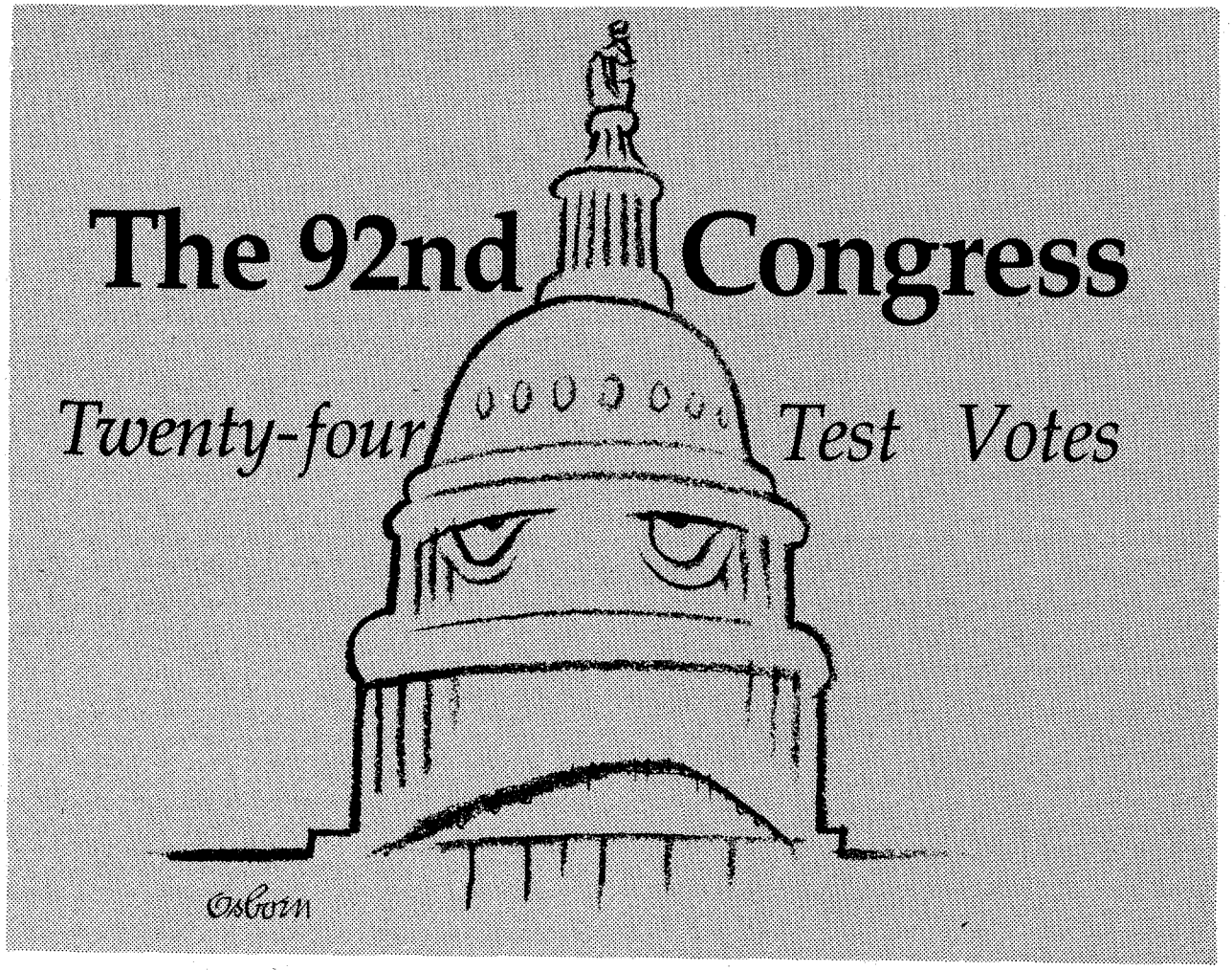

Not only did the 92nd Congress hesitate to legislate, it was about to give up appropriating: let the White House do the hatchet work. Welfare reform died a thousand deaths; so did the effort to end military collusion with the Thieu government; so did equitable tax reform and restrictions on needless new weapons systems. Health insurance, whether the Kennedy or Nixon version, did not have the dignity of a defeat. The two legislative giants, Sen. Russell Long and Rep. Wilbur Mills, did modify and push through revenue sharing; however, the accompanying lid on social service grants ended up hurting the cities the bill is intended to rescue. A consumer protection agency measure broke down in the Senate, child care stalled in the House. An independent legal services corporation disappeared, the minimum wage bill didn't make it to conference. The 92nd did override Nixon's veto of a $24 billion water pollution bill.

Test votes are an imprecise measure; sometimes a bad vote is a lifeline to reelection of a good congressman. A handful of votes cannot describe a member's effectiveness, especially the quality of his leadership on the two or three subjects in which he may have special interest and competence. Nor do they accurately reflect the whole performance of the two houses. Many controversial bills are gutted or buried in committee, where the tough battles take place. It would be hard to know from the roll calls that campaign spending, tax reform and the democratization of Congress itself were lively political issues. The 92nd was not distinguished; on the other hand, it was not entirely unproductive. It was nondescript, deficient in leadership and new ideas.

The Editors

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Rating the 92nd Congress

24 Test Votes

SENATE

1. BUSING: *February 29, 1972.*
Probably the "hottest" issue in either house, this was a motion by Griffin (R, Mich.) to strip federal courts of their jurisdiction to require that school children be bused to or from school for reasons of race alone. Rejected 47-50.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

2. JOB DISCRIMINATION: *January 26, 1972.*
The Dominick (R, Colo.) amendment to the Equal Employment Opportunity Enforcement Act would have cancelled EEOC cease-and-desist powers and instead required the commission to file time-consuming suits to enforce its findings of discriminatory practices. Rejected 46-48.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

3. HANDGUN CONTROL: *August 7, 1972.*
One of the most direct challenges ever made to the powerful gun lobby, this was Hart's (D, Mich.) move to limit the ownership of all handguns to the military, law enforcement officers, security guards and federally licensed target pistol clubs. Rejected 7-48.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

4. VOTER REGISTRATION: *March 15, 1972.*
Allen (D, Ala.) moved to kill a bill establishing a National Voter Registration Administration; it would have set up a registration program through the mail, thereby broadening the voter base. Passed 46-42.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

5. MASS TRANSPORTATION: *September 19, 1972.*
Weaker than the Kennedy-Weicker version, this Cooper-Muskie amendment to allow states and localities to spend money from the Highway Trust Fund for other transportation needs was nevertheless a boon to mass transit. Passed 48-26.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

6. MINIMUM WAGE: *July 20, 1972.*
An amendment by Taft (R, Ohio) would have delayed an increase in the current federal minimum wage from $1.60 to $2.00 and set a subminimum wage rate for young workers. Rejected 46-47.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

7. MILITARY BUDGET: *July 27, 1972.*
Bentsen (D, Tex.) moved to delete from the Defense Appropriations Bill for fiscal 1973 approximately $500 million for accelerated development of the navy's Trident submarines. Like money for the B-1, the billion dollar Trident investment was unnecessary and more likely to speed than slow down the arms race. Rejected 39-47.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

8. VIETNAM: *August 2, 1972.*
Brooke's (R, Mass.) amendment to withdraw US forces from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia within four months after enactment, subject to the release of US prisoners of war, was the closest test of antiwar sentiment. Passed 49-47.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

9. SALT: *September 14, 1972.*
Jackson's (D, Wash.) amendment, urging the President to seek a treaty with the Soviet Union assuring numerical equality of nuclear weapons, confused "sufficiency" with absolute mathematical parity. It appeared to commit Congress to unlimited R&D in nuclear technology and to lock American negotiators into an inflexible formula. Passed 56-35.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

10. EMERGENCY LOAN: *August 2, 1971.*
This bill authorized a bail-out guarantee of $250 million for the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. Passed 49-48.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

11. DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS: *June 29, 1971.*
Proxmire-Mathias amendment was to place an annual ceiling of $68 billion on Defense Department expenditures. The vote was a test of sentiment on curbing the demands of the military-industrial complex, without jeopardizing the essentials of a national security policy. Rejected 24-63.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

12. CHILD CARE: *June 20, 1972.*
Bill to expand the Head Start program and establish a comprehensive child day care program. The President vetoed the first version and harassed the second. In this revised form the bill gives money to the states rather than tunneling it through local communities. It was a progressive initiative, one of the few major program ideas of the session. Passed 73-12.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

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HOUSE

1. JOB DISCRIMINATION: *September 16, 1971.*
The House version, considerably weaker than the Senate's, would require the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to file court suits to enforce its findings of discriminatory practices, rather than issue cease-and-desist orders. Passed 200-195.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

2. CHILD CARE: *September 30, 1971.*
A key education, poverty, children's and women's rights vote, this proposal for a Comprehensive Child Development Act was attached to a bill extending Office of Economic Opportunity programs. Passed 203-181.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

3. SCHOOL PRAYER: *November 8, 1971.*
A constitutional amendment to permit prayers in schools and other public buildings was a rare attempt to redefine the First Amendment. A two-thirds majority vote was required for passage. Defeated 240-162.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

4. MINIMUM WAGE: *May 11, 1972.*
A GOP-Dixiecrat substitute to the Fair Labor Standards Amendments, this delays increase in the federal minimum wage and does not extend wage, overtime or equal pay coverage to new workers. It also sets a subminimum wage for youth (the "McDonald's Hamburger clause"). Passed 217-191.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

5. INDOCHINA WAR: *August 10, 1972.*
Bolling amendment to strike the Morgan-Hamilton-Whalen section of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1972. That section set October 1 as the deadline for US participation in the war, pending a North Vietnam cease-fire and return of POWs. Passed 228-178.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

6. LABOR/HEW FUND VETO: *August 16, 1972.*
A key "priorities vote," this was an effort to override the President's veto of the Labor-HEW appropriations bill for fiscal year 1973. The vetoed bill (Nixon called it "reckless spending") would have restored cuts the President made in education and health programs. Two-thirds majority needed. Failed 203-171.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

7. BUSING: *August 17, 1972.*
Called the "Equal Educational Opportunities Act," the bill prohibits busing to end school desegregation, authorizes the reopening of old school desegregation plans ordered under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and diverts $500 million of the Emergency School Aid funds to finance programs under the bill. Passed 283-102.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

8. 21-DAY RULE: *January 22, 1971.*
This was the only congressional reform vote. Sisk (D, Calif.) proposed to scuttle the modified 21-Day rule from *Rules of the House for the 92nd Congress* by which any bill could be pried out of the Rules Committee after a specific period of time. In effect, Sisk would prevent the entire House from voting on subjects without prior clearance by Rules. Passed 234-153.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

9. CONSUMER PROTECTION: *October 14, 1971.*
Moorhead (D, Pa.) amendment to the Consumer Protection Agency Act would have put teeth in an ombudsman-type operation, broadening the agency's authority to represent consumers in proceedings of other federal departments and agencies. Failed 160-218.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

10. WATER POLLUTION: *March 28, 1972.*
Reuss' (D, Wisc.) amendment to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act would have required industry to use by 1981 the best available waste treatment technology, instead of waiting for further congressional action after a National Academy of Sciences feasibility study. Failed 140-249.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

11. DEBT LIMIT/TAX REFORM: *June 27, 1972.*
This was the clearest House vote on tax reform. The motion called for the previous question on the rule for consideration of the Public Debt Limit. If the previous question had been voted down, the way would have been cleared for two tax amendments proposed by Rep. Reuss, one to tighten the minimum tax so that everyone would have to pay something, the other to repeal the accelerated depreciation allowance. Passed 205-181.
(A vote for is marked minus.)

12. B-1 BOMBER: *June 27, 1972.*
Pike's (D, NY) amendment to the Military Procurement Authorization for fiscal year 1973 would have deleted $445 million requested for development of the B-1 Manned Bomber. The B-1 Manned Bomber will ultimately cost the taxpayer $40 billion and its critics made a sound case that the national security does not justify the extravagance. Failed 94-279.
(A vote for is marked plus.)

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THE RECORD OF THE SENATE

	1 Busing	2 Job Discrimination	3 Handgun Control	4 Voter Registration	5 Mass Transportation	6 Minimum Wage	7 Military Budget	8 Vietnam	9 SALT	10 Emergency Loan	11 Defense Appropriations	12 Day Care
ALABAMA												
Allen (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sparkman (D)	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
ALASKA												
Gravel (D)	+	+	–	+	0	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
Stevens (R)	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
ARIZONA												
Fannin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Goldwater (R)	–	–	–	–	0	–	+	–	–	+	–	0
ARKANSAS												
Fulbright (D)	–	–	–	+	–	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
McClellan (D)	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
CALIFORNIA												
Cranston (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
Tunney (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
COLORADO												
Allott (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Dominick (R)	–	–	–	–	0	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
CONNECTICUT												
Ribicoff (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
Weicker (R)	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
DELAWARE												
Boggs (R)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
Roth (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
FLORIDA												
Chiles (D)	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
Gurney (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
GEORGIA												
Gambrell (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
Talmadge (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
HAWAII												
Inouye (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	0	+	–	–	–	0
Fong (R)	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
IDAHO												
Church (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Jordan (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
ILLINOIS												
Stevenson (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Percy (R)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
INDIANA												
Bayh (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hartke (D)	+	+	–	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0
IOWA												
Hughes (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Miller (R)	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
KANSAS												
Dole (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Pearson (R)	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
KENTUCKY												
Cook (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
Cooper (R)	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
LOUISIANA												
Edwards (D)			–		–				–			
Long (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
MAINE												
Muskie (D)	+	+	–	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Smith (R)	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
MARYLAND												
Beall (R)	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
Mathias (R)	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
MASSACHUSETTS												
Kennedy (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Brooke (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	0	+
MICHIGAN												
Hart (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Griffin (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	0	+	–	+
MINNESOTA												
Humphrey (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	0	+
Mondale (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MISSISSIPPI												
Eastland (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Stennis (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
MISSOURI												
Eagleton (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+
Symington (D)	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+

	1 Busing	2 Job Discrimination	3 Handgun Control	4 Voter Registration	5 Mass Transportation	6 Minimum Wage	7 Military Budget	8 Vietnam	9 SALT	10 Emergency Loan	11 Defense Appropriations	12 Day Care
MONTANA												
Mansfield (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Metcalf (D)	+	+	–	0	0	+	+	+	+	–	0	0
NEBRASKA												
Curtis (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Hruska (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEVADA												
Bible (D)	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
Cannon (D)	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
McIntyre (D)	+	+	–	0	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	0
Cotton (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
NEW JERSEY												
Williams (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
Case (R)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
NEW MEXICO												
Anderson (D)	+	–	–	+	–	0	–	+	–	+	–	+
Montoya (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
NEW YORK												
Buckley (Con-R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Javits (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA												
Ervin (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
Jordan (D)	–	–	–	–	0	0	0	–	–	+	–	+
NORTH DAKOTA												
Burdick (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
Young (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
OHIO												
Saxbe (R)	+	–	–	–	0	–	+	–	–	+	0	+
Taft (R)	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
OKLAHOMA												
Harris (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bellmon (R)	+	–	–	+	0	–	–	–	–	+	0	+
OREGON												
Hatfield (R)	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
Packwood (R)	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
PENNSYLVANIA												
Schweiker (R)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
Scott (R)	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
RHODE ISLAND												
Pastore (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
Pell (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Hollings (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
Thurmond (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
SOUTH DAKOTA												
McGovern (D)	+	+	–	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mundt (R)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	–	0
TENNESSEE												
Baker (R)	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
Brock (R)	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
TEXAS												
Bentsen (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	0	–	+
Tower (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
UTAH												
Moss (D)	+	+	–	+	0	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
Bennett (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
VERMONT												
Aiken (R)	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
Stafford (R)	+	+	–		–	+	–	+	+			+
VIRGINIA												
Byrd (Ind)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
Spong (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
WASHINGTON												
Jackson (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
Magnuson (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
WEST VIRGINIA												
Byrd (D)	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
Randolph (D)	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
WISCONSIN												
Nelson (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Proxmire (D)	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WYOMING												
McGee (D)	+	+	–	+	0	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
Hansen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECORD OF THE HOUSE

	1 Job Discrimination	2 Child Care	3 School Prayer	4 Minimum Wage	5 Indochina War	6 Labor/HEW Fund Veto	7 School Desegregation	8 21-Day Rule	9 Consumer Protection	10 Water Pollution	11 Debt Limit/Tax Reform	12 B-1 Bomber
ALABAMA												
1 Edwards (R)	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Dickinson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	0
3 Andrews, E. (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–		–	–
4 Nichols (D)	–	0	–	–	0	0	–	–	–	–	+	–
5 Flowers (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Buchanan (R)	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Bevill (D)	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	0	–	+	–
8 Jones (D)	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
ALASKA												
AL Begich (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
ARIZONA												
1 Rhodes (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–
2 Udall (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Steiger (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
ARKANSAS												
1 Alexander (D)	0	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	0
2 Mills (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Hammerschmidt (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Pryor (D)	0	+	0	+	+	+	–	0	+	0	–	0
CALIFORNIA												
1 Clausen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–
2 Johnson (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Moss (D)	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	0
4 Leggett (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
5 Burton (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Mailliard (R)	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	0	+	–	–
7 Dellums (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Miller (D)	+	0	+	+	0	+	0	–	0	–	+	–
9 Edwards (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10 Gubser (R)	0	0	0	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–
11 McCloskey (R)	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	–	0	+	–	–
12 Talcott (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0	–	–	–	–
13 Teague (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 Waldie (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+
15 McFall (D)	+	0	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	0
16 Sisk (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 Anderson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
18 Mathias (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–
19 Holifield (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	0
20 Smith (R)	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–
21 Hawkins (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+
22 Corman (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
23 Clawson (R)	0	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	+	–
24 Rousselot (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
25 Wiggins (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	0
26 Rees (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27 Goldwater (R)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–
28 Bell (R)	–	+	0	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
29 Danielson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
30 Roybal (D)	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
31 Wilson, Charles (D)	+	0	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
32 Hosmer (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–
33 Pettis (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–
34 Hanna (D)	+	0	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
35 Schmitz (R)	–	–	–	–	–	0	+	–	–	–	+	–
36 Wilson, Bob (R)	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–
37 Van Deerlin (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	–
38 Veysey (R)	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
COLORADO												
1 McKevitt (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Brotzman (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Evans (D)	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
4 Aspinall (D)	+	–	+	+	0	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
CONNECTICUT												
1 Cotter (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
2 Steele (R)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
3 Giaimo (D)	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–

	1 Job Discrimination	2 Child Care	3 School Prayer	4 Minimum Wage	5 Indochina War	6 Labor/HEW Fund Veto	7 School Desegregation	8 21-Day Rule	9 Consumer Protection	10 Water Pollution	11 Debt Limit/Tax Reform	12 B-1 Bomber
CONNECTICUT (con't)												
4 McKinney (R)	0	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
5 Monagan (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
6 Grasso (D)	+	0	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
DELAWARE												
AL DuPont (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
FLORIDA												
1 Sikes (D)	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	+	–
2 Fuqua (D)	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	0	–	–	–
3 Bennett (D)	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
4 Chappell (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–
5 Frey (R)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	+	–	–
6 Gibbons (D)	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
7 Haley (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
8 Young (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
9 Rogers (D)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
10 Burke (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	0
11 Pepper (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
12 Fascell (D)	0	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
GEORGIA												
1 Hagan (D)	–	0	–	–	0	0	–	–	–	–	+	0
2 Mathis (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	+	–
3 Brinkley (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
4 Blackburn (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Thompson (R)	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Flynt (D)	–	0	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
7 Davis (D)	–	+	+	–	0	–	–	0	–	–	–	–
8 Stuckey (D)	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	+	–
9 Landrum (D)	–	0	+	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Stephens (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	0
HAWAII												
1 Matsunaga (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
2 Mink (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
IDAHO												
1 McClure (R)	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	+	–
2 Hansen (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
ILLINOIS												
1 Metcalfe (D)	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
2 Mikva (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Murphy, M. (D)	0	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
4 Derwinski (R)	0	0	0	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	+	–
5 Kluczynski (D)	+	0	+	+	0	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
6 Collins (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
7 Annunzio (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
8 Rostenkowski (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	0	–	–
9 Yates (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
10 Collier (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–
11 Pucinski (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	0
12 McClory (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
13 Crane (R)	–	–	0	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
14 Erlenborn (R)	–	–	0	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	0
15 Carlson (R)				–	–	–	–				–	–
16 Anderson (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	0
17 Arends (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 Michel (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–
19 Railsback (R)	0	+	+	–	–	+	0	–	–	0	–	–
20 Findley (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	0
21 Gray (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	0	–	0
22 Springer (R)	–	–	–	–	–	0	0	–	0	–	–	–
23 Shipley (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
24 Price (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
INDIANA												
1 Madden (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2 Landgrebe (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	+	–
3 Brademas (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Roush (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
5 Hillis (R)	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
6 Bray (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Myers (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
8 Zion (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Hamilton (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
10 Dennis (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
11 Jacobs (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
IOWA												
1 Schwengel (R)	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	0	–	+	0
2 Culver (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Gross (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
4 Kyl (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	0
5 Smith (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	–	+	–
6 Mayne (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
7 Scherle (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	+	–

New Republic ratings:

The symbol [+] indicates *TNR*'s agreement with the position taken; the symbol [–] indicates disagreement. The pairs for and against legislation follow the same general classification. Those absent or not voting are tabulated [0]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of the Senate or the House. Members who died during the 92nd Congress are omitted.

*The Speaker of the House does not vote except in case of a tie.

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	Job Discrimination	Child Care	School Prayer	Minimum Wage	Indochina War	Labor/HEW Fund Veto	School Desegregation	21-Day Rule	Consumer Protection	Water Pollution	Debt Limit/Tax Reform	B-1 Bomber
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
KANSAS												
1 Sebelius (R)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Roy (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
3 Winn (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Shriver (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Skubitz (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
KENTUCKY												
1 *Stubblefield (D)*	–	+	–	0	–	+	–	–	0	–	–	–
2 Natcher (D)	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
3 Mazzoli (D)	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
4 Snyder (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
5 Carter (R)	–	+	–	–	–	0	0	–	–	–	–	–
6 Curlin (D)				–	+	+	–			–	0	–
7 Perkins (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
LOUISIANA												
1 Hebert (D)	–	0	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Boggs (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	0	+	+	–	–	0
3 Caffery (D)	–	–	+	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	0	0
4 Waggonner (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Passman (D)	–	0	+	0	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
6 Rarick (D)	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	0	+	–
7 Vacancy												
8 Long (D)	0	0	0	+	0	0	0	–	0	–	–	–
MAINE												
1 Kyros (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
2 Hathaway (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
MARYLAND												
1 Mills (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–
2 Long (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	0	+	–	+	+
3 Garmatz (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Sarbanes (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
5 Hogan (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Byron (D)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Mitchell (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
8 Gude (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
MASSACHUSETTS												
1 Conte (R)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2 Boland (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
3 Drinan (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4 Donohue (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
5 Vacancy												
6 Harrington (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7 Macdonald (D)	+	+	+	0	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
8 O'Neill (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
9 Hicks (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
10 Heckler (R)	+	+	–	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0
11 Burke (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
12 Keith (R)	–	–	+	0	0	0	0	–	–	–	–	–
MICHIGAN												
1 Conyers (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	0
2 Esch (R)	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	0	0
3 Brown (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
4 Hutchinson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
5 Ford, Gerald (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
6 Chamberlain (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Riegle (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
8 Harvey (R)	–	–	0	–	+	+	–	0	–	–	–	–
9 Vander Jagt (R)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
10 *Cederberg (R)*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 Ruppe (R)	–	0	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
12 O'Hara (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
13 Diggs (D)	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+
14 Nedzi (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
15 Ford, William (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
16 Dingell (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
17 Griffiths (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	–	0	–	+	–	0
18 Broomfield (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	0
19 McDonald (R)	+	–	–	–	0	0	–	+	–	–	–	0
MINNESOTA												
1 Quie (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2 Nelsen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Frenzel (R)	+	0	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
4 Karth (D)	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
5 Fraser (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Zwach (R)	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
7 Bergland (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Blatnik (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	0
MISSISSIPPI												
1 Abernethy (D)	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	0	+	0
2 Whitten (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Griffin (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	0
4 Montgomery (D)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Colmer (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–

	Job Discrimination	Child Care	School Prayer	Minimum Wage	Indochina War	Labor/HEW Fund Veto	School Desegregation	21-Day Rule	Consumer Protection	Water Pollution	Debt Limit/Tax Reform	B-1 Bomber
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
MISSOURI												
1 Clay (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Symington (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3 Sullivan (D)	0	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
4 Randall (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
5 Bolling (D)	+	+	+	0	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
6 Hull (D)	–	–	–	0	–	+	0	–	–	0	+	–
7 Hall (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	0	–
8 Ichord (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Hungate (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
10 Burlison (D)	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	0	+	+	+	+
MONTANA												
1 Shoup (R)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–
2 Melcher (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	–
NEBRASKA												
1 Thone (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 McCollister (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Martin (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEVADA												
AL Baring (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	0	0	0	+	0
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
1 Wyman (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2 Cleveland (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
NEW JERSEY												
1 Hunt (R)	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2 Sandman (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Howard (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	0
4 Thompson (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	–	+	+
5 Frelinghuysen (R)	–	0	+	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–
6 Forsythe (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
7 Widnall (R)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
8 Roe (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
9 Helstoski (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
10 Rodino (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11 Minish (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
12 Dwyer (R)	0	+	–	0	+	+	–	–	–	0	–	0
13 Gallagher (D)	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	–	0
14 Daniels (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
15 Patten (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
NEW MEXICO												
1 Lujan (R)	–	0	–	–	–	–	0	–	0	+	+	–
2 Runnels (D)	–	0	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NEW YORK												
1 Pike (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2 Grover (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Wolff (D)	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
4 Wydler (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
5 Lent (R)	–	+	–	–	–	0	–	–	0	–	–	0
6 Halpern (R)	+	+	0	+	–	+	–	+	0	+	–	0
7 Addabbo (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
8 Rosenthal (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Delaney (D)	–	0	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Celler (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
11 Brasco (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
12 Chisholm (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0
13 Podell (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
14 Rooney (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
15 Carey (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+
16 Murphy (D)	+	0	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
17 Koch (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18 Rangel (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19 Abzug (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20 Vacancy												
21 Badillo (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Scheuer (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
23 Bingham (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24 Biaggi (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	0	+	+	+
25 Peyser (R)	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
26 Reid (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	0	+	+
27 Dow (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+
28 Fish (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
29 Stratton (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
30 King (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
31 McEwen (R)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
32 Pirnie (R)	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
33 Robison (R)	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
34 Terry (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	0	–	+	–
35 Hanley (D)	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
36 Horton (R)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
37 Conable (R)	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
38 Hastings (R)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
39 Kemp (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	+	–	–
40 Smith (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	+	–	–
41 Dulski (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–

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NORTH CAROLINA												
1 Jones (D)	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2 Fountain (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Henderson (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
4 Galifianakis (D)	–	0	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–
5 Mizell (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
6 Preyer (D)	–	+	+	0	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
7 Lennon (D)	–	–	–	–	0	0	–	–	–	–	+	–
8 Ruth (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Jonas (R)	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Broyhill (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 Taylor (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
NORTH DAKOTA												
1 Andrews (R)	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Link (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
OHIO												
1 Keating (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Clancy (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	+	–
3 Whalen (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
4 McCulloch (R)	0	0	+	–	0	+	+	0	0	–	–	0
5 Latta (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
6 Harsha (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–
7 Brown (R)	0	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–
8 Betts (R)	–	–	–	–	–	0	0	–	–	–	–	–
9 Ashley (D)	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
10 Miller (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 Stanton, J. William (R)	+	+	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12 Devine (R)	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	0	+	–
13 Mosher (R)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	0
14 Seiberling (D)	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
15 Wylie (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
16 Bow (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–
17 Ashbrook (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
18 Hays (D)	+	+	–	0	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	0
19 Carney (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
20 Stanton, James V. (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
21 Stokes (D)	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22 Vanik (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
23 Minshall (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
24 Powell (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
OKLAHOMA												
1 Belcher (R)	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–
2 Edmondson (D)	+	0	–	0	0	+	0	+	–	–	–	–
*3 Albert (D)	+	+	0	+	–	0	0	0	+	–	0	0
4 Steed (D)	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	0	0	0	–	–
5 Jarman (D)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Camp (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
OREGON												
1 Wyatt (R)	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Ullman (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	–	0	0	–	+
3 Green (D)	+	+	0	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
4 Dellenback (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
PENNSYLVANIA												
1 Barrett (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
2 Nix (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Byrne (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
4 Eilberg (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
5 Green (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Yatron (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
7 Williams (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 Biester (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
9 Ware (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 McDade (R)	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	0	0
11 Flood (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
12 Whalley (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–
13 Coughlin (R)	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
14 Moorhead (D)	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
15 Rooney (D)	+	0	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
16 Eshleman (R)	0	0	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 Schneebeli (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
18 Heinz (R)			+	+	+	+	–			+	+	+
19 Goodling (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
20 Gaydos (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	0	+	+
21 Dent (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	0	+	+	+	0
22 Saylor (R)	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	0	+	+	–
23 Johnson (R)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
24 Vigorito (D)	+	+	0	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
25 Clark (D)	0	+	–	0	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	0
26 Morgan (D)	+	0	–	+	+	+	–	+	0	+	–	–
27 Conover (R)					–	–	–				–	–
RHODE ISLAND												
1 St. Germain (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
2 Tiernan (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA												
1 Davis (D)	+	–	–	+	–	+	–		–	–	–	0
2 Spence (R)	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–

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SOUTH CAROLINA (con't)												
3 Dorn (D)	–	0	+	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–
4 Mann (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
5 Gettys (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0	–	–
6 McMillan (D)	–	–	0	–	–	+	0	–	0	–	–	–
SOUTH DAKOTA												
1 Denholm (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
2 Abourezk (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0
TENNESSEE												
1 Quillen (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–
2 Duncan (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 Baker (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Evins (D)	–	0	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	0	–	0
5 Fulton (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	0	0	–	0
6 Anderson (D)	0	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	0	+	–	0
7 Blanton (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	0	–	0
8 Jones (D)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
9 Kuykendall (R)	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
TEXAS												
1 Patman (D)	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	0	0	+	–
2 Dowdy (D)	–	+	–	0	0	0	0	0	–	0	+	0
3 Collins (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Roberts (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Cabell (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
6 Teague (D)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
7 Archer (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 Eckhardt (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+
9 Brooks (D)	+	+	+	0	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
10 Pickle (D)	–	+	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 Poage (D)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
12 Wright (D)	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
13 Purcell (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 Young (D)	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
15 de la Garza (D)	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	0	0	–	–
16 White (D)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
17 Burleson (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 Price (R)	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
19 Mahon (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
20 Gonzalez (D)	0	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
21 Fisher (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
22 Casey (D)	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
23 Kazen (D)	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
UTAH												
1 McKay (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
2 Lloyd (R)	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–
VERMONT												
AL Mallary (R)				–	–	–	+			–	–	–
VIRGINIA												
1 Downing (D)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
2 Whitehurst (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	+	–	–
3 Satterfield (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	0
4 Abbitt (D)	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5 Daniel (D)	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	–
6 Vacancy												
7 Robinson (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8 Scott (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Wampler (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10 Broyhill (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
WASHINGTON												
1 Pelly (R)	–	–	+	–	0	0	0	–	0	+	–	–
2 Meeds (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
3 Hansen (D)	0	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–
4 McCormack (D)	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	–	+	+
5 Foley (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
6 Hicks (D)	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
7 Adams (D)	–	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
WEST VIRGINIA												
1 Mollohan (D)	0	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	0
2 Staggers (D)	0	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	0	0	+	–
3 Slack (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	0	–	+	–
4 Hechler (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5 Kee (D)	+	0	–	+	–	+	–	+	0	–	–	0
WISCONSIN												
1 Aspin (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2 Kastenmeier (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3 Thomson (R)	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4 Zablocki (D)	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
5 Reuss (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 Steiger (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
7 Obey (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8 Byrnes (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 Davis (R)	–	–	–	0	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–
10 O'Konski (R)	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	0	–	–
WYOMING												
AL Roncalio (D)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

The King of Marvin Gardens

(Columbia)

A Sense of Loss

(Cinema 5)

Glum news from the people who made *Five Easy Pieces*, which had a lot of good work in it along with some pretentious flab. In their new picture the flab has taken over. *The King of Marvin Gardens* hasn't been running two minutes before hope begins to shiver.

The very first shot is a fairly tight close-up of Jack Nicholson, wearing glasses, his face half in shadow as he looks at us. His first line: "I promised to tell you why I never eat fish." This is a doubly daring start. Pictorially, it deliberately puts us nowhere; textually, it assumes a level of sophisticated engagement, willing to begin in the middle of things. The unspoken message is: "Have faith. Clarification, enrichment, justification will come." They don't, and it doesn't take us long to find that out.

Nicholson goes into a story about a boyhood experience with his brother and his grandfather that utterly lacks the weight to justify the *misterioso* opening, a story of very little resonance. Pictorially, the opening tease fizzles just as dismally: after a while a red light flashes on Nicholson's face, then we cut back and see that he is in a radio studio, talking into a mike, and that the red light is a signal from the control booth. The opening shot is nothing more than the sort of cuteness that, say, Jerzy Skolimowski uses, beginning a sequence close to an unrecognizable object, then pulling back until we see that it is merely a detail of something familiar. For both the eye and the ear, this Nicholson opening trickles into mere trickery.

Nothing gets much better. Those same techniques are repeated often. Sequences begin abruptly, in their contextual "middle," straining always toward the bizarre for eye and ear (like a shot of Nicholson and Bruce Dern on horseback on the Atlantic City beach). The device is used so often that, with almost every new sequence, we spend a good deal of time merely trying to find out where we are and who is who. This elliptical method might have some point, even if things never became entirely clear, if the result were a rewarding ambiguity; as it is, portentous methods have been imposed on thin material.

Nicholson is a radio monologist in Philadelphia who is summoned to Atlantic City by his wild-dreaming brother, Dern. (Marvin Gardens, I gather, is a name on the Monopoly board.) Dern, who lives with a woman and her stepdaughter, has a scheme to develop a resort center on an island off Hawaii—not his first get-rich-quick fantasy—and wants his brother to join him. There is an extremely complicated counterpoint of black bosses, Japanese investors, and sexual hijinks. It ends with a sudden murder and with Nicholson back at his Philadelphia job.

The theme is good old Arthur Miller territory—dreams-of-success as the American narcotic, with one member of a family trying to get another to kick the narcotic and enjoy the life he has. The setting is a rundown resort paradise, so the dream is of a new resort paradise. None of this is arbitrarily unusable, but all of it is irritating when the apparatus turns out to be just apparatus. If Jacob Brackman, who wrote the script from a story by himself and Bob Rafelson, had been content to tell the story, had confronted the banalities of subject and symbolism with honesty, it might have been effective. But Brackman is much more concerned with showing himself a fount of gnomic rue, worldly wise and weary of film-script conventions. Brackman is more interested in Brackman than in his story or characters; since they are at his mercy, they suffer.

He is not alone in disproportion. The director, Rafelson, who shaped so much of *Five Easy Pieces* so well, seems to have lost the map of his directorial mind—temporarily, I hope. He seems not to know when he is being shallowly imitative (the tacky band at the station, to greet Nicholson, is fourth-rate Fellini), when he is casting badly (a girl named Julia Anne Robinson could hardly be less interesting), when he is shoving in irrelevant atmosphere (a high school band on the boardwalk) or unearned *tristesse* (a sad overhead long shot of the same band dispersing in the afternoon light). Connected with this is Laszlo Kovacs' photography, conceived generally in a palette of autumnal farewell that might have been a touch too much for Chekhov, let alone this script.

As the brother, Bruce Dern works energetically, but since the principal question we keep asking of him is who the hell he is, his performance is doomed to flounder. Ellen Burstyn tries to give realistic pathos to a thirtyish doxy, but the part was never *seen* by the writer or director. (It's sort of like Rayette of *Five Easy Pieces* after a trip through a Waring blender.) The sharpest performance comes from John Ryan in the brief, defined role of a hotel manager.

My biggest grievance against Brackman-Rafelson is that they have wasted Jack Nicholson. Melancholic resignation is not his strongest suit. He needs

(continued on page 32)

Films Worth Seeing

Cabaret. Life is *not* a cabaret, old chum, still this musical derived from Isherwood fiddles flashily while Berlin burns.

The Candidate. Surprising, the resentment this (neatly made) film about a campaign has aroused among "sophisticates." Not the whole truth, but surely a big bitter part of it.

The Emigrants. Max von Sydow and Liv Ullman in a well-made narrative of Swedes leaving Sweden for the US in 1844.

The Ruling Class. Peter O'Toole and a superb cast in a messy but well-written satire about a religious maniac who succeeds to an earldom.

La Salamandre. A funny, grave, important film. Two TV documentary writers want to write a script about a workingclass girl, but her reality is too much for them. Swiss, believe it or not.

The Sorrow and the Pity. Four and a half fine hours of documentary about wartime France and some survivors.

Tokyo Story. A treasure. Yasujiro Ozu's story of an old couple, their children, *their* children, a picture that gently asks the largest possible questions.

SK

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Crawford Woods on TV

A Sorry Smokescreen

The appointment of a new CPB president only too eager to toe the Nixon line (see the Nicholas Johnson column in *TNR*, October 14) has been long brewing. Structurally, public television has been a mess from the beginning. Lines of authority have been mangled and abused. Everybody from the stations to the network—which isn't exactly a network—to the governing corporation—which doesn't exactly govern it and them—has tried hard to pump out "programming philosophies" and programs at the same time, like the man in Roethke's poem who learns, by going, where he has to go. Given the tangle, it's surprising that public television has been as good as it has. We have only to look across the ocean to see how short of great that is.

If I invoke the tattered banner of the BBC once more, it's not to fall into that unproductive and boring pose of the man who loves all centuries but this and every country but his own. Rather it is because public television is in an administrative tarpit and the command posts of the BBC suggest a possible way out. Stated too quickly, the BBC is an *independent* organization, established in the UK long before commercial broadcasting, responsible periodically to a royal commission for its conduct and to Parliament for renewal of its charter. With twice the airspace of British commercial television, it pulls in no more than half the national audience. Nobody expects or wants it to do otherwise.

Now come home again. Public television in the United States functions under what might conservatively be called a more shadowy mandate. To get at it, we must travel patiently through the ligatures of its history. I'll be as brief as possible.

Ultimately the problem is grounded in that paucity of vision that caused television in this country to be born straight from radio, as a commercial medium. From the start an attempt was made to save airspace for more potent purposes, but it was a lame duck all along: in 1952 the FCC reserved 242 channels for what were then called "educational" stations; seven years later, only 44 were on the air. Most of these were, as Martin Mayer put it, "one teacher speaking to one camera, and dullsville." Stations in Boston and San Francisco, however, and finally the powerful NET in New York, did manage more variety, and did build some community support. But the situation was generally static in the watershed year of 1966 when McGeorge Bundy left the White House and Fred Friendly left CBS News, the one to take over the Ford Foundation and the other to head up its television effort.

Their pet project was the Public Broadcasting Laboratory, a weekly two-hour program which would tie up all the previously independent noncommercial stations in the land for a purpose as laudable as it was laughably vague: "to pull together the intellectual and cultural resources of this country to speak directly . . . to the great issues of the day in every field of action." The show, while it lasted, pulled together less than one percent of the audience, but it did at least spark the idea of noncommercial television on a national scale. It also prompted a Carnegie Commission report that changed the name of the game from "educational" television, which nobody would watch, to *public* television, which somebody might.

In service of those somebodies, Congress created in 1967 the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, and somewhat later the President appointed John Macy, previously chairman of the US Civil Service Commission, as its head. We know the rest. It has now been put at the mercy of annual appropriations, and forced to divvy up its authority in ways that would do credit to Lewis Carroll.

Henry Loomis, the presidential replacement of Macy, has inherited an uneasy and unhappy crew. One PBS official told *Television Digest*, "Let's face it, it's a whole new ball game. The White House has taken control. . . . A major thing to watch for will be the reaction and future funding of the Ford Foundation. If they withdraw their money, we'll all be in trouble."

One man who perhaps won't be *wants* Ford to pull out. An officer of KCTA, the Minneapolis-St. Paul public TV station, John C. Schwarzwalder recently launched a sharp attack on public television in the pages of *TV Guide*. And his views can hardly be displeasing to the Nixon administration or the new boy on the block at CPB.

Schwarzwalder's argument runs that the entire operation has betrayed a forceful left-wing bias that has corrupted its credibility with the viewers. He asserts that "a number of station managers" have complained that the public affairs programs they run seem confined to views expressed by Fred Friendly and Ford. He mentions other documentaries, like "Banks and the Poor" and the controversial (and never-shown) NET show on the FBI. He is upset at a Woody Allen attack on Nixon (also never shown), and a program on which Pete Seeger's sister explained why she was giving up her American citizenship. He speaks of "dozens" of other examples of CPB and PBS perfidy.

Well. If part of Dr. Schwarzwalder's argument seems sparsely documented and another part directed against shows that were never seen, it is yet not without force, and some of its demands have come to pass. He calls for Macy's resignation and that has been given; a loyal Nixon man is at the helm. He calls for a break with Ford, and some PBS people fear that indeed lies in the future. He calls for a return to "educational" television, the very thing Carnegie found out people weren't watching, and Mr. Loomis would seem to agree. *He* wants to move public television away from what seems to him to be its present posture of competition with the commercial networks. Loomis has asserted that CPB will do an about-face in its hands-off policy and exert a major force in programming (something neither intended in the Carnegie plan nor embraced in the act of Congress). He is going to drop analysis of presidential speeches (a pungent feature of Bundy/Friendly/Ford's PBL), urge attention to specialized audiences and ask PBS to back off on hard news, on the theory that such efforts compete in an area where commercial networks are more competent.

To be sure, there are things in this program to admire. A boost in the educational content of public television—physics every Friday—will be a feather in somebody's cap even though it's been demonstrated there won't be much audience. To stress that public television should be supplementary rather than competitive is healthy, and to

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scorn the mass audience is civilized. We will have to wait and see whether any of these fine promises come to pass, of course, and we must remember that they never really have before, but they are praiseworthy goals.

On the other hand, they could be nothing but a sorry smokescreen for a picture which otherwise looks ugly indeed. If the corporation—run by a Nixon loyalist and Frank Shakespeare alumnus—is going to lay down the law to PBS and the stations; if criticizing the President is going to be considered a bit unwise; if investigative reporting is going to be hard-pressed to find a bankroll, and hard news be left to the showmen and the "experts"—then public television will indeed have fallen upon hard times, and the public interest be identified with yet another silenced voice and shuttered door.

Once upon a time, there might have been another way. I have suggested that the BBC provides a model. Perhaps, to begin, the babel of bureaucracies that make up public television as it exists today might have been streamlined into one; perhaps that one might have been governed by a board appointed for long terms, and composed not of politicians, but professionals: TV people, lawyers, artists, academics; perhaps something like that TV license or tax on sets might have been imposed, and the group have been adequately funded yearly, independent of congressional whim or administration change; perhaps producing stations might have been rewarded in proportion to their production, and the chimera of free access have been better accommodated as well; and perhaps, every so often, the makers of the medium might have been called to account by a governmental and citizens' committee whose powers would not include financial crippling.

Such a scheme would not have given us perfect public television. Only free creators could approximate that, and with all the freedom in the world, they might still not have been forthcoming. But how much better it would have been than what we've got!

These were our airwaves, and it may be that we've lost them.

NOTE ON CONTRIBUTOR

CRAWFORD WOODS, *former TV critic for* The Washington Post, *is currently freelancing from El Prado, NM.*

Robert Brustein on theater

Art in an Age of Ideology

London

To judge from my own coign of vantage, the minds of serious theater people here are preoccupied largely with the Irish question. Four recent openings have confronted this subject either directly or in passing, the most recent being an episodic collage by seven playwrights called *England's Ireland*. I find it virtually impossible to exercise the task of dramatic criticism in regard to such a work. It is impudently, if somewhat screechily, performed, and it possesses occasional satiric deftness—as, for example, in a ritual enacted by a group of Orangemen in derbies who piss in sanctified pots and then drink the water of the English ascendancy. To evaluate the theatrical qualities of the evening, however, would be to scant the important political issues it raises; and to discuss the issues would be beyond my jurisdiction as a foreign visiting critic.

But then I come from a country with serious troubles of its own which often find theatrical expression in similar ways, so rather than try to review *England's Ireland*, I would prefer to make some generalizations about why I find plays of this sort so disheartening and, ultimately, so subversive of the very causes they hope to advance. I admit a prejudice here—against the use of theater as an instrument of social or political utility, and, particularly, as an arm of propaganda. I am old enough to remember not only the manipulative lies of Goebbels during World War II but also of our own side when, in order to accelerate the war effort, plays and movies asked us to regard all Japanese and Germans as subhuman, and to consider the wholesale slaughter of the enemy as an occasion for rejoicing. I don't think anyone has yet measured the damage wrought to our spirits by such characterizations, not to mention the appalling dullness forced on our minds; but I know they made Hiroshima possible, and suspect they paved the way for Vietnam.

England's Ireland proceeds from a similar kind of impulse, particularly when it identifies the British torture-murder of a young Irish boy with the crucifixion of Christ, but makes the killing of an English soldier an occasion for comedy. When an Irish revolutionary in this play says, "You have to blow people apart to get them to listen to you," I am reminded of nothing so much as the remark of an American military officer in Vietnam to the effect that "We had to destroy the village in order to save it." Both are perfect examples of what Edmund Wilson once called "the self-assertive sounds" man utters "when he is fighting and swallowing others." But such cant in dramatic form is especially repulsive because it implicates the theater, which should aspire to the truth, in a conscious act of falsehood.

I do not mean to imply for a moment that the theater ought to avoid pressing issues of the time, or even that the playwright should remain scrupulously neutral. But if an artist has developed an adversary position through his perception of a complicated reality, he has the obligation, if he has the power, to deliver this reality back through his art, so the audience can reach its own conclusions. This was the way of Shaw; it was usually the way of Brecht; it is the way of every dramatist who has the humanity to keep the ideological animal in him at bay. Aristotle believed that dramatic poetry was superior to history because it has the capacity to render not only the surface of particular events, which taken alone are often lies, but also the universal texture of probable human motives. Understanding such motives may not make immediate converts to a cause, but it permits the spectator to make his judgments in an atmosphere of free inquiry, and thereby creates the possibility of more lasting conversions.

There is, for example, a play still to be written about Northern Ireland, but it would be a tragedy, not a melodrama. It would look with horror on British internment camps, torture practices, the persecution of the Catholic minority and the perpetuation of a divided Ireland; it would look with equal horror on the indiscriminate bombing of civilians by the provisional wing of the IRA, not to mention its vicious abuse of Catholic women who fraternize with Protestants or English soldiers. It would try to un-

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derstand the dilemma of a British government, apparently eager to disengage itself from a profitless trouble spot, but obliged to protect the security of its nationals. And it would press back to the early imperial crime against the Irish people by England which, like the original sin of American slavery, mocks all the good intentions of a later day, like some modern curse on the house of Atreus.

This play has yet to be conceived. What we have in its place are simple-minded oppositions, stirring heroics and the discharge of hate in a righteous cause. And what worries me most about these plays is their aggressiveness, for this leads one to believe that if the Irish question had never existed, certain English writers would have felt compelled to invent it. Aggressiveness of this kind is a quality that permeates a variety of agit-prop plays—whether about blacks, Vietnam or capitalism—where, regardless of the virtue of the cause, it seems to precede its source and linger independently of its stimuli, like monoxide fumes in an empty garage. Freud, whose sweet reason is now in eclipse, was convinced that if such aggression were not creatively channeled, it would eventually destroy the human race. He never dreamed that the artist, for whom he had such hope and respect, would begin to help the bloody butchers at their work.

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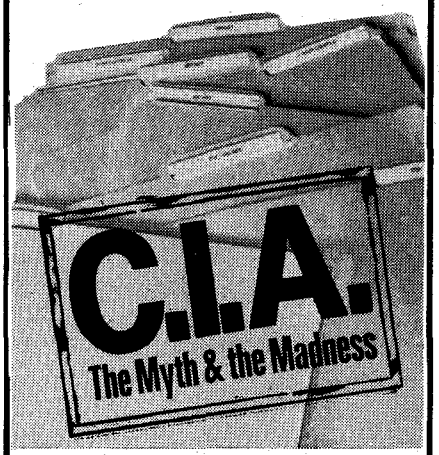

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Plan Six Forever

The Diffusion of Power

by W. W. Rostow

(Macmillan; $12.50)

Walt Rostow modestly denies that the years 1957-72 would have been different if he "had been teaching economic history and never set foot in Washington," but his book suggests otherwise. An obsessed anti-communist, he has had the ear of three Presidents, and he can sure fill an ear. His prose has a semblance of order and is persuasive, a model of abstract bureaucratese, and he has put it in the service of "holding the line around the periphery of the communist bloc" with wim and wigor. His Presidents, it is true, have not *quite* kept up with him. Eisenhower, for whom he worked only sporadically, was a bit of a penny pincher and not nearly tough enough in holding the line. Kennedy was better but he too failed to act decisively sometimes; he missed a fine chance to give Hanoi the what-for way back in 1962. LBJ was the best of the lot; he was not only the most "considerate" man Rostow has ever worked for, but he was a "truly extraordinary figure" whose presidency may well come to "rank among the greatest, as well as the most turbulent, in American history." Why? Because he gave the commies the what-for while at the same time performing enormous feats for the Negro, the blighted cities, inflation and the like at home. But even LBJ didn't always go along with Rostow; for instance, he didn't like what came to be known as Walt's Plan Six. Plan Six was for a direct attack (in context, clearly a ground attack) on North Vietnam.

The big point to be noted about what Walt says about Walt's Plan Six is not that Walt was more of a hawk than LBJ but that he doesn't seem to know how he got the reputation he had and has for *being* a hawk. Thus in describing Plan Six and how it came to LBJ's attention through a journalist's report about it, he takes the occasion to point out to his readers, as he did originally to an annoyed LBJ, that Plan Six was just another "contingency plan" and that he had *not* advocated it to the press; he knew it was LBJ's job, not his, to do the advocating. Yet in the very letter that he sent to LBJ professing his loyalty to LBJ's advocacy, he boosts Plan Six or something mighty close. ("I do of course have convictions . . . I do not believe a guerrilla war can be won with as open a frontier as that which now exists in South Viet Nam.")

Also one wonders how in the world Plan Six would have risen to the surface as *Walt's* Plan Six if he hadn't been selling it harder than the other five (or 500) plans.

What I'm getting at, and what kept striking me as I read this fat tome, was a steady blindness on Rostow's part to nuances of feeling and character, even his own, behind all the bloodless logic. A spectacular instance was that of his visit to Vietnam as a member of General Taylor's mission for JFK in 1961, to pop a little Gallup Poll question on the people of South Vietnam—did they "want an independent noncommunist future or would they, in fact, prefer to go with Ho Chi Minh?" Now I won't quibble much about the wording of that question, though Rostow assumes throughout that independence and liberation are synonymous with being on "our" side; but I do want to quibble about the likelihood of Rostow and Taylor getting a reliable answer. JFK must have been a bit distracted the day he sent the mission out, but of course there's such a long tradition of fact-finding globetrotting for Pentagon people as well as congressmen that few people think seriously about whether the facts *are* actually instantly accessible

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to well-fed economist militarist and yes even imperialist tourists. Anyway Rostow got over there, he tells us, and began to *probe*. Yup, he met "a good many opposition figures . . . through political officers in the Embassy with extensive anti-Diem contacts," and "listened to their complaints," but discovered that nobody wanted to be under Hanoi. He also "probed at attitudes in the hamlets, villages and small towns," attitudes that were not positive toward Diem but were wholly negative toward Hanoi, and then talked with communist prisoners, "candidly guided by a Vietnamese officer who with some sophistication distinguished those who were likely to tell me what they thought I would like to hear from those who, to a degree at least, would speak their minds"; and he learned that they were disillusioned, having found themselves caught in a bureaucratic machine rather than "a political movement with great resonance." Then, armed with all this inside dope, Rostow and the rest of the mission reported back to JFK and JFK then dutifully began to take a tough line toward Hanoi, even proposing that Walt's Plan Six (which was already in existence!) be resorted to if lesser plans failed. Now I submit that there's an extraordinary blindness here to the frailties of the mission's basic methodology, not to mention the "facts" that they unearthed.

I call it blindness, but of course those who share Rostow's convictions will not agree. It is one of the unhappinesses of his book—at least an unhappiness that settled on me as I got further into it—that it is beyond argument. The lines have been drawn so deeply now in our country that the opposing sides do not speak any more. Not that the opposing sides are easy to define—they are not simply hawks and doves, nor are they simply internationalists and nationalists—but whatever they are they do not speak. Rostow's book is a spectacular example of a book that simply cannot speak to those who have grown slowly into opposition to our Vietnam war and therefore to our whole governmental being; my feeling reading Rostow was that the enormity of his distance from "my" side was pervasive—in the prose, in the charts, and particularly in the almost total absence of imagery or details of private life or character. Rostow's mind is always in the war room or the economic-chart room; he is busy busy busy at achieving "a more effective orchestration of the political instruments available," yet sees people hardly at all. His is the blindness—or so it seems from the vantage point of the opposition—of the total ideologue, a blindness he surely shares, though he would hate to hear it, with his opposite numbers in the Kremlin, a blindness that is ironically a *strength* if one is working for a behemoth of a state, since it enables the blind man to cope with factors the way a computer would at a beauty contest, knowing all the data from tip to toe, yet never having its efficiency disturbed by the Beauty herself. I'm not getting soppy about flesh and feeling, nor proposing that we give up reason and science, but saying that in Rostow's book we see operative an extremely barren and abstract mode of thought that has become so prevalent among us that for many it no longer seems extreme but perfectly normal and of the essence of realism and pragmatism, yet a mode that much prefers factors to people and displays only a low and mechanical awareness of their presence. The book is defective in other respects: it is really a string of memos, and has gobs of irrelevant material, such as civil rights history, thrown in as if to increase the poundage and thus identify it as a scholarly work. But the primary difficulty remains its computer mode of approach to world problems. So at least the opponents of the mode think, and it drives them batty.

Reed Whittemore

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COMING: Calvin Bedient reviews the selected works of Marinetti

In Brief

The Myth of the Middle Class: Notes on Affluence and Equality by Richard Parker

(Liveright; $7.95)

In this little book Richard Parker mounts a cogent attack upon the "myth" that the great bulk of Americans are members of an affluent middle class. The facts, he says, are to the contrary. He defines the "poor," in accord with official government standards, as those with annual incomes below $4000, representing about 13 percent of the population. But material and cultural deprivation, Parker contends, is also present in the "lower middle class," those with incomes between $4000 and $10,000. He concludes, therefore, that it is only the upper middle class and the rich, embracing no more than 50 percent of the population, that enjoy the affluence that has mistakenly been taken as characteristic of the nation more or less as a whole.

Parker holds John Kenneth Galbraith responsible in considerable measure for propagating, if not inventing, the myth that material wellbeing is widely distributed in the United States. He contends that the principal consequence of Galbraith's *The Affluent Society*, 1958, was to divert the nation from what should be its foremost goal—the achievement of economic equality. (Galbraith would no doubt respond that Parker had misjudged the book's message and vastly overestimated its political influence.) The resulting indifference of legislators and intellectual leaders, Parker says, is mirrored in the fact that virtually no change in the distribution of income has occurred in the United States since World War II. Throughout the period "the richest 10 percent of Americans" have received "more money income than the entire bottom half of the population."

Plugging loopholes in the income tax laws, Parker says, is not likely to do more than alter slightly the details of this "intolerable inequality." A massive redistribution of income and wealth is required. Although the author doesn't specify how that objective may be achieved, he quotes Thomas Jefferson with enthusiastic approval: "Whenever the people are well-informed, they can be trusted with their own government; whenever things get so far wrong as to attract their notice, they may be relied

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upon to set them to rights." Parker's book represents a passionate effort to bring the disturbing facts of gross inequality to our attention.

In Common Cause by John W. Gardner

(Norton; $3.95)

For a book designed as a primer this one is pleasantly low on oratory. John Gardner moves fast through the national "ailment," which he characterizes as our society's loss of capacity to manage itself, and in less than 50 pages summarizes the major causes of the ailment, then moves on to remedies. Citizen action is of course Gardner's game at Common Cause, and when he thinks of it he is not thinking about votes; he respects votes but thinks their value is very limited without reinforcement. Even if one could, in any given election year, perform the "stunning feat" of increasing the number of "good people" in public office by 15 or 20 percent, it wouldn't make much difference. Citizen action must be "a full-time continued 'presence' on the scene"; it must have at all times "a limited number of clearly defined targets and hit them hard"; it must be professional in the sense of being politically savvy; and it must constantly bring into the light of day what special interests wish to keep dark.

In Common Cause, an organization with an actual dues paying membership of perhaps 200,000, the search has been primarily for the "leadership element" among "citizens in the middle of the political spectrum." Gardner thinks the key is in that middle; one of the truly significant modern political facts, he believes, is the extraordinary decline of confidence in the government—from 74 percent in 1964 to 26 percent in 1970—expressed by the middle. "Nothing profound happens," he says, "until the middle is ready," and adds that "it is rarely ready," being "usually complacent, inert, preoccupied with the routines of life," but that it is ready now—for "something very good or something very bad," the good being a reassertion of true democratic processes, the bad "the emergence of a coercive order."

Would Common Cause survive a landslide Nixon victory and continue to be a full-time "presence"? The point is not discussed in the book, but workers for Gardner—who are as optimistic as he is about the vigor of the enterprise—say yes.

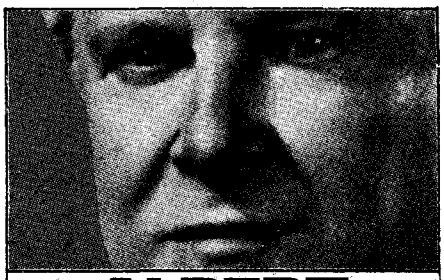
The Story of Ireland by Maire and Conor Cruise O'Brien

(Viking; $12.95)

Here's another green-jacketed picture history of Ireland. Conor Cruise O'Brien and his wife Maire march through more than 2000 years of Irish history at a pace that would dizzy Cuchulainn and the slow, meticulous poets that kept alive the ancient stories of Ireland. All the great names are gathered in these 174 pages—Brian Boru, Columcille, Patrick, Parnell, Joyce, even Bernadette Devlin. There's hardly room for them to breathe, though, and it seems unfair to pack so many into so few pages. But why complain? This is a beginner's history, not meant to pick fights with scholars. It's meant instead to convey a feeling for the whole of Irish tradition, a history of Ireland as Irishmen know it, but more objective than the version most of them have learned.

Conor Cruise O'Brien, incidentally, is the only man now sitting in the Irish Parliament who had the courage to denounce the IRA's bombing campaign at its beginning and consistently speak out against terrorists, patriotic and otherwise. His book says very little about this particular Irish problem; there simply isn't space. But he does relate the old story of England's conquest, the plantation of Ulster and the repression of Catholics under the penal laws. He shows the other side too—the agrarian violence of Irish patriots and the discouraging pattern of Irish history in which one victory after another loses its heroes and sinks into the bog of apathy and factionalism. The book's best selling point is its collection of photographs, which includes dozens and dozens of saints, hermits, chieftains, executions and at the end the ugliest of all—the new factories.

In Allen S. Whiting's review of Edgar Snow's *The Long Revolution* (Oct. 21), the following in italics was left out of his penultimate sentence: Mao's doubts concerning Chinese census reports, Chou's admission that the birth rate shot up during the Cultural Revolution with sexual mingling among millions of Red Guards, and Snow's perceptive questioning *of the military's role in politics place this book on the high level of his* previous works as reportage.



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Kauffmann, *from page 26*

strong tensions, not necessarily loud (though he's good when loud) but deep and certainly tense. When he's being quiet *about* something—which means, with the threat of explosion even if he never explodes (like Gabin)—he's arresting. Here he simply stands around most of the time, observing and reflecting, occasionally wrinkling his nose bunny-style to adjust his glasses. It's quite a negative achievement to flatten Nicholson, but this picture does it.

BBS Productions, which produced *Marvin Gardens*, and *Easy Rider* and *Five Easy Pieces* and *The Last Picture Show*, is trying, with varying success, to contribute to the growth of the American "personal" film. Fine and necessary and high time. But because the US film world has no tradition of "personal" films (despite some isolated instances), the effort to compensate often produces an effect of dutiful strain, guilty heaviness, esthetic hernia. Hence the BBS production of Jaglom's *A Safe Place* last year, utter nonsense, and now *Marvin Gardens*.

I'm not saying, obviously, that other countries never make emptily pretentious films. (It's more the rule than otherwise in Poland and Czechoslovakia.) But new American filmmakers sometimes seem to worry overmuch about being taken for old Hollywood factory-hands. If only Rafelson would stop proving that he is not Henry Hathaway or Robert Z. Leonard, if only he would realize that seriousness comes from fundamental sincerity—even in the best of the most baroque Fellini—then his gifts might flower. I suggest an example to him for study: the whole final filling-station sequence of *Five Easy Pieces*.

A Sense of Loss is the new documentary by Marcel Ophuls, who made *The Sorrow and the Pity*. Some disappointment has been expressed about it. I disagree. The new picture is, as he calls it, a film report, and it's a very good one. His subject is the current troubles in Northern Ireland, and he handles it in extremely competent journalistic fashion. The disappointment that some people feel is really, I'd say, just a twisted compliment to the first film. *The Sorrow and the Pity* is a historical study, with a 30-year perspective and with its materials woven into a species of factual art. *A Sense of Loss* is skilled, informed and informing journalism.

Ophuls doesn't dig deeply into the

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background of the Irish troubles, but he does show very many strands of the present conflict on both sides, including the reverberations in America. The photography is good, his interviews are incisive, his presentation is impartial. The result—as it must be, with an impartial picture on this dreadful subject—is disheartening. The only intrinsic cinematic trouble with his fairness (I don't recommend *un*fairness to him, I'm just noting a result) is some sense of watching a tennis match—this side, that side, this side, that side—so that we can almost feel our heads wag in the dark. He ends on center: a neutral story, about a girl who was killed "innocently" by a British Army truck after dark.

One curious point. About a week before I saw the film, two friends visiting from Dublin told me that the real problem in the North is that things are being stirred up by *agents provocateurs* engaged by outside forces that are anti-Common Market. (Eire will enter the EEC on January 1, 1973.) Privately, I dismissed this as one more cranky "inside" story, not helpful. But Prime Minister Lynch of Eire, interviewed by Ophuls, cites the Common Market as an issue in the struggle, and in one sequence a paper distributed by the IRA has a headline about the EEC. The American press has said much about the religious basis of the Irish conflict, but I can't recall a word on this Common Market issue.

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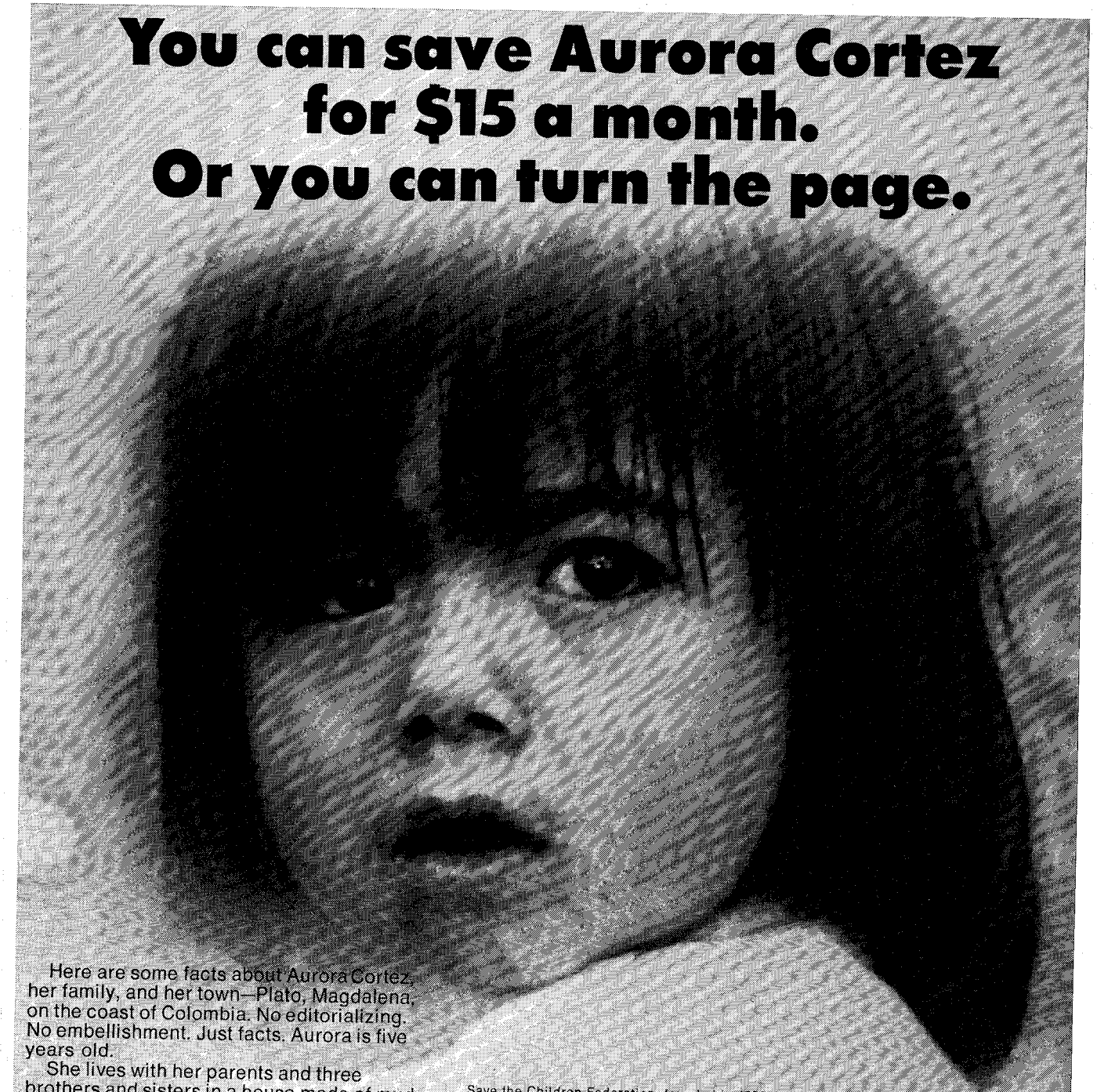

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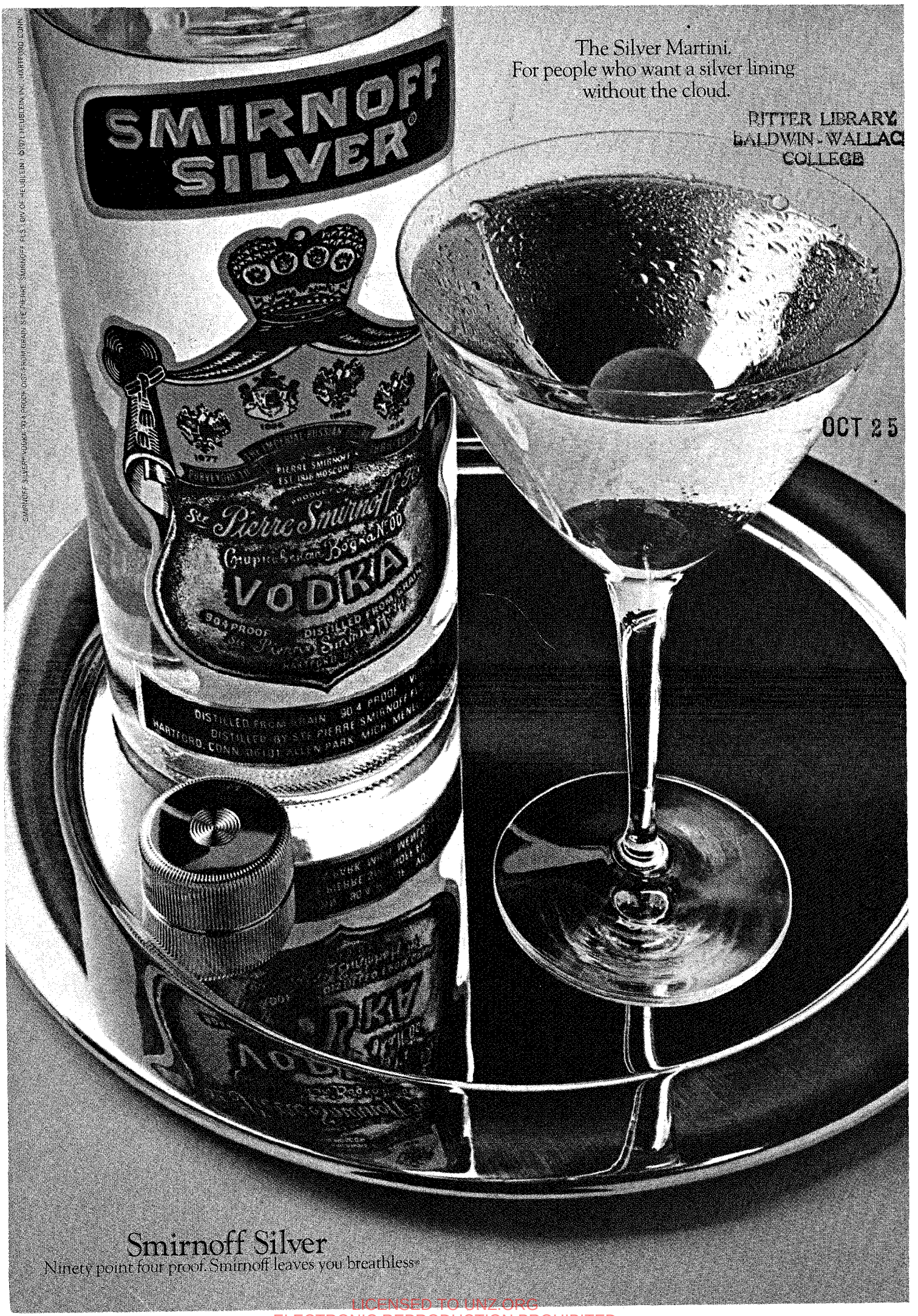

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